SECOND INTERIM REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT MEROË IN ETHIOPIA

PART I—EXCAVATIONS

By Professor JOHN GARSTANG, M.A.

A preliminary note on the work of our first expedition to Meroë in the Sudan appeared in the *Annals of Archaeology*, Vol. III, pp. 57 to 70, with Plates 20 to 23. A full report for that year, in which the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce and Mr. F. L. Griffith also collaborated, has been since published by the Clarendon Press under the title '*Meroë—the City of the Ethiopians.*'

It will be recalled that during that first season's work the positions of the Temple of Amon and of some of the important buildings of the city were ascertained, the Temple of Amon was excavated in outline to secure a general plan, and a remarkable Solar Temple discovered in the desert about a kilometre eastward from the city was also uncovered. Lying between the Sun Temple and the site of the city was an extensive necropolis, which was examined in some detail. It proved to be in three main divisions, representative probably of three different periods.

The discoveries in general proved of so great interest that the Committee had no hesitation in continuing the excavation, and the names of the gentlemen who supported this new expedition included the following:—Ralph Brocklebank, Esq., Freiherr von Bissing (Munich), Monsieur Jean Capart (Musées Royaux, Bruxelles), H. Martyn Kennard, Esq., Rev. W. Macgregor, M.A., Robert Mond, Esq., Major E. Rhodes, Dr. Waldemar Schmidt (Copenhagen), James Smith, Esq., D. J. Vallance (Royal Scottish Museums), and H. S. Wellcome, Esq. Each of these gentlemen subscribed £100. During the progress of the season's work Mr. Mond subscribed a further sum of the same amount, while Mr. Henry S. Wellcome increased his contribution to the generous total of £500. The party of workers included, as usual, Mr. Horst Schliephack as Chief Assistant, and was joined by Mr. Robin Horsfall, who volunteered his services. Professor Sayce stayed the

greater part of the season in camp and devoted his keen insight and unbounded energy to the work. Major E. Rhodes, D.S.O., a member of the Committee, stayed also in the camp and lent his ready assistance whenever desired. Work was begun at the beginning of December, 1910, and was closed down in the middle of February, 1911. Saleh abd el Nebi occupied his usual position as head foreman, and under his charge forty of our trained Arabs came from their homes in Egypt to take part in the work. These were employed chiefly as working overseers, each overlooking a gang of native labourers, of whom some three to five hundred were more or less constantly employed.

One of the first pieces of work was to continue the clearance of the great Temple of Amon, which in the course of a few weeks was entirely laid bare (Plate VIII). In the Sun Temple, also, a considerable amount on the south side of the wall of the temple was cleared away, disclosing a number of secondary buildings (Plate VII), and the whole of the structure was similarly left clear of débris. The main feature of the season's work was concerned, however, with the discovery and examination of a walled enclosure lying to the west of the Temple of Amon; this proved to be of the nature of a royal citadel, enclosing two large palaces and other buildings of official character. Plate VI shows the position of the various groups of buildings which have now been examined, and a comparison of this with the map of the site of excavations, 1910 (*Meroë*, Plate II), will show the development of the site on the western side of the railway during the past season. Included in the outlying buildings recently examined, are No. 622 (on the north of the plan), apparently a private residence, with No. 621, a bath, slightly to the south; some extensive pottery kilns (No. 620); various mounds (Nos. 285, 286, 710, 711, 712), containing instructive remains of workshops and other buildings; and lastly the great palace (No. 750), which was cleared in outline (Plate X) but not completely excavated Not much work was done on the eastern side of the railway. The excavation of one building (No. 70, Plate XI) was, however, rewarded with results of special importance in tracing the development of the site, while another building of special character (No. 255 also on Plate XI) was found lying beyond the Sun Temple to the south-east.

The Temple of Amon (No. 260 Plate VIII)

This building was completely excavated; previously the chambers around the sanctuary alone had been cleared, but in this season's work Chambers 272, 278 and 277 were found to form a part of the main building. The two first were unimportant except that in No. 272 there was found, just at the foundation level, a remarkable cameo of Greek workmanship, representing a pair of galloping horses, the one black and the other white, its date may be approximately fixed at 300 B.C. In the same chamber there was found a small tablet of stone decorated with low reliefs, representing the king and the queen making offerings to the Ram-headed Amon and the goddess Isis. Below were several lines of inscription in Meroitic cursive character. It is unfortunate that this object (now in the museum at Khartoum) was much broken, as it is a characteristic specimen of Ethiopian art. In the Chamber 277 there were evidences of a colonnade, and at its western extremity a small shrine enclosed within a screen of columns. In the main avenue, in the centre of Chamber 270, there was found, in the paved floor of the building, a place specially prepared for sacrifice of larger animals; it was about three metres square, surrounded by a trench and enclosing a central space about one metre square in which had stood a dish of stone lined with glazed tiles. In the outer hall (No. 271) the base of an obelisk of black granite was found *in situ* just to the left hand of the entrance to Chamber 270. This obelisk must have been originally about three or four metres in height above its plinth; the upper part of it, however, was broken entirely away, so that only about half a metre of the inscribed faces remain. The inscription is in lines of Meroitic cursive script, clearly engraved and supplemented by numerous fragments found scattered around, and constitutes one of the longest Ethiopian texts hitherto discovered. To the south of the central sanctuary (No. 279) there was found against the main wall of the hall a stone dais, approached by several steps, and carved in a single piece. It is decorated around the outside with a design of bound prisoners, while upon the steps themselves are similar representations of humble captives upon which anyone mounting the dais must place his feet.

The Temple of the Sun (No. 250, Plate VII)

The general plan of this building as previously published (*Meroë*, Plate 28) is confirmed. A number of subsidiary chambers were found against the southern wall and these are represented in the new plan. On this side, from the west, there may be seen also an ascending ramp, leading up, doubtless, to a door in the southern wall of the building. On the same side, to the east, there came to light a small chamber enclosed between the main wall and the colonnade. In the floor of this were numerous vases of earthenware filled with incinerated bones and charcoal, a proportion of the bones were apparently human. Just above, upon the outer face of the main wall, there are scenes representing the slaughter of young men and boys, while among the sculptures which decorate the walls (some of them now falling away from their original places) there may be recognised scenes of torture. Of special interest is a group of decorative carvings upon the west wall of the main building supplemented by fragments, which give a contemporary picture of the whole temple as it originally stood. The wall of the inmost sanctuary may be seen rising above the colonnade which represents the cloister upon the main platform: both the inner and outer pylon are also quite distinct. Another part of the scene represents a four-columned building, apparently that of which the ruins are traceable just to the east of the enclosure wall of this temple. The sloping way leads up to this building, and a number of figures included in the decorative scheme are arranged in two groups similar to one another, in which a bound captive may be seen being dragged up the slope by a cord attached to his leg, while a soldier from behind compels him to mount with the point of his spear. The representations of the king seated upon his throne, and of warriors mounted on galloping horses, complete these interesting scenes.

The royal city (Plate IX)

The great wall against which the Temple of Amon abuts is that which is visible above the ground. Early in the season we traced out the foundations of the wall which lie as indicated in the plan, enclosing an area about 300 metres long, and more than

150 metres in width. The western wall seems to have fronted the river, in antiquity. The arrangement of quay walls and break-water will receive further attention during the coming season. In the enclosure itself, the royal palace (No. 294) and the building which adjoins it (No. 295) were completely excavated. These buildings, as represented in the plans, are doubtless of a date much subsequent to the original construction of the city; in fact, at various points the traces of older buildings were found in the deeper levels. In the building, No. 294, there were made two or three discoveries of a special character; in the first place, at the northern side, a deep rubbish pit was found containing innumerable fragments of faience, pottery, and miscellaneous objects. The objects of faience included numerous sistrums, *ankh*-signs and rings, all inscribed. Upon the rings there was in general only the wish for a happy new year expressed in Egyptian hieroglyphs, but the objects in the two former classes disclosed a number of royal names and historical information which is dealt with fully by Professor Sayce in the second portion of this Report. This rubbish pit clearly belonged to the earlier building, for the dated remains are of the 8th to 6th century B.C., while the upper building is probably not earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Just outside the northern wall of the palace there lay numerous building stones; also at a low level there was found a doorway with its original lintels and threshold in place, inscribed in a similar fashion. These are further indications of the original palace. The last discovery was equally important from a historical point of view and more remarkable. In digging down in the centre of the building, the flooring of a deep stone-lined chamber was come upon at a depth of four metres from the surface, below the foundations of any of the extant walls. This seems to have been a sort of treasure chamber, but it was entirely empty. Hard by, however, under the foundations of a wall there was found a pottery vase of red polished earthenware, somewhat resembling a type known in Egypt in the late XIIth and the early XVIIIth dynasties. This was filled with gold dust and nuggets, broken glass and beads, together with three inscribed jewels of gold in the form of a pyramid, a scarab, a flat scarab-seal and three gold money-rings. The jewels of gold were pyramidal in form though not tapering

to an apex. They are inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs and bear the name of two kings, Uaz-ka-Ra (Hor-matleq) and Mal-neqen. These, from the association of other inscriptions, are known to belong to the period of Aspalut, the builder of the Solar Temple, and their date, as Professor Sayce shows, must be the 8th or 7th century B.C. Subsequently, another jar of similar character, filled also with gold dust and nuggets was discovered near at hand, but unhappily in this find there was no further historical information.

In the other palatial building, No. 295, the traces of an earlier structure were much more apparent, but it is still doubtful whether the lower building which was traced out to some extent, really belongs to the early period of the remains just described. This building was distinguished from the other in that there was a bath lined with stone blocks. It was as deep as the height of a man, and a flight of steps led down one side to the bottom. Before passing from these palaces there may be noticed also the discovery in No. 294 of a hoard of bronze objects, which seem to have been inlaid, as well as numerous fragments of pottery which, from their position, may lead to some chronological data. There was also found near the surface a fragment of a large scarab of Amon-hotep III mentioning Queen Tii, the two cartouches being fortunately preserved. Though broken, the discovery of this object of the XVIIIth dynasty has none the less considerable significance.

We dealt only briefly with the other building lying northward from these palaces. No. 296 was traced downwards to its level, some five metres below the surface. Four columns had supported its roof and two doors were still traceable in its western and eastern walls respectively. Between that and the building, No. 292, there was found a deposit of alabaster, presumably corresponding in date to the XXVIth dynasty of Egypt, as well as the bronze fittings of a royal throne, which had doubtless been made of wood and had subsequently decayed. These included a lion-shaped foot, a moulded knob and several rings of bronze, and also a remarkable image of a bound prisoner, whose ankles are tied to his elbows behind his back, an attitude familiar upon Ethiopian scenes. A gold wire is wound around his neck, suggesting that this prisoner

was attached to another, as on the mural decorations. Possibly this object formed an ornament on the royal footstool. The chamber, No. 292, was of greater interest, the walls marked in the plan are at a considerably higher level than those just described, and below the building there is also a floor level of stone which probably corresponds to the floor level of No. 296 and to the dated jewel and inscriptions of the palace, No. 294. The structure, however, has this special interest in that its interior walls are covered with stucco and decorated in barbaric fashion with gorgeous colours. The scenes represent the king and queen of Ethiopia, their officials and, may be, their allies, as well as a number of bound captives of foreign race. Detailed drawings have been made by Mr. Schliephack of these instructive representations, which it is hoped to publish with the fuller report of these discoveries. In the centre of this building there rose up a secondary structure which had doubtless formed the pedestal of a statue or group. The columns of the original building had been cut down, with their capitals lowered and re-used, probably to support the canopy over the statue. Unfortunately, the destruction of time had proceeded too far for anything of the statue to be traceable *in situ*, though the plinth of the pedestal is evident. Just outside the doorway of this chamber, and buried in a clean pocket of sand ($2\frac{1}{2}$ metres from the surface) there was a Roman bronze portrait head of heroic size. This is shown from three points of view in Plates XII-XIV and is fully treated by Professor Bosanquet in Part III of this Report. The area to the immediate east of this building is still covered by a large mound, which we propose to excavate during the coming season.

Other buildings of the site.

We do not in this Interim Report enter into detailed description of any of the other buildings excavated, though all of them contribute important details to our increasing sum of information concerning this remarkable buried city. Two of them, however, should be specially noticed. The small shrine, No. 70, shown in Plate XI, is a typical example of a small Meroitic temple as illustrated in the previous season's work upon the Lion Temple, No. 6, to which it is adjacent. It is decorated with various scenes,

and amongst animals represented there may be noticed a herd of cows who wear cow-bells attached to their necks. The altar was found *in situ* with a stone ramp at one side. Of special interest, also, is the fact that the building stood on a small mound of artificial character as was the case with the Lion Temple excavated the previous year. In investigating the nature of this mound, we came below the foundations of the temple to the outline of a house or workshop of earlier date. A fact observed in the case of the Lion Temple also. It now seems clear that this mound had accumulated from the workshops and buildings of the old indigenous population of iron smelters. The slag and refuse of their occupation covers these mounds in remarkable profusion. Subsequently the temples were built upon the same spots, possibly because of traditions which lingered in connection with them. The other building is that, No. 750 (Plate X), which we have as yet only disclosed in outline, with the exception of a single chamber which was excavated experimentally. In this there were found the remains of three statues of remarkable character and instructive examples of Meroitic sculpture. The one seems to represent a dancing girl, while the head of another is clearly that of a negro. In spite of considerable lack of technical skill there is to be seen in these objects evidence of special qualities of realism and character which lent to them a special importance. The building itself will be completely excavated during the coming season.

PART II—THE HISTORICAL RESULTS

By The Rev. Professor A. H. SAYCE, D.Litt.

The historical results of the second season of Professor Garstang's excavations at Meroë have much exceeded expectation. Little additional light has been thrown upon the later history of the Ethiopian kingdom, but, in return, its earlier history has been in great measure revealed to us. We have come to learn what an important place it occupied in the oriental world of the ninth and eighth centuries before our era, and how largely it affected Egyptian history. The obscurity which enveloped the history of Egypt between the age of Osorkon II and the Assyrian conquest has been to a considerable extent dissipated. Egypt was once a subject province of Ethiopia; Memphis and Thebes were the seats of rulers who held office at the pleasure of the King of Meroë, and it was with the Kings of Ethiopia that the Kings of Judah were allied. The negro troops of the Sudan beat back the Assyrian invaders of Palestine, and saved Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah.

The history of the Sudan begins in the neolithic age. Stone celts, accompanied by black pottery with incised patterns, are found both at Meroë and elsewhere north of the Blue Nile. I have picked them up at Basa, some seventeen miles eastward of Meroë, at Kawa, south-east of Dongola, at Kerma, and other sites. They have been discovered at Gebel Geili, between Naga and the Blue Nile, together with the characteristic black incised pottery which belongs to the neolithic age. In most places where they are met with a Meroitic town subsequently sprang up.

The Meroitic civilisation seems to have been imposed from outside upon a native neolithic population. At Kerma, neolithic graves are intermingled with graves which contain pottery and alabaster vases of Twelfth Dynasty form, but belonging to the Meroitic period. The same fact results from an examination of the city-mounds at Kawa. But it is not only in the Sudan that I have observed the fact; it holds good also of Upper Egypt. My excavations in the Twelfth Dynasty cemetery at Ed-Dêr, opposite Esna, showed that the Twelfth Dynasty tombs were intermingled

with graves which contained the same incised black pottery as that of the Sudan, together with black-topped vases of the so-called 'Pan-grave' type. At El-Kab, the long-continued excavations of Mr. Somers Clarke and myself brought the same fact to light. Here we found a city which was built in the time of the First Dynasty, and reached the height of its prosperity in the time of the Third Dynasty, after which it appears to have been practically deserted, until it was again partly occupied in the age of the Tenth and Twelfth Dynasties. After that period it was once more deserted until the Roman Age, with the exception of a settlement of the priests in the immediate neighbourhood of the temples in the age of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. But above the ruined houses of the Third Dynasty lay stone celts and fragments of black pottery with the same incised patterns as those found at Ed-Dêr and in the Sudan. At Hierakonpolis, also, opposite El-Kab, which was deserted after the fall of the Old Empire, and only partially occupied again for a while under the Twelfth Dynasty, similar pottery has been discovered.

The black-topped pottery of the 'Pan-graves' has now been traced to Nubia, and it is to the Sudan that the incised black pottery must also be referred. In the troublous age which followed the decay of the Old Empire, Sudanese tribes must have made their way into Upper Egypt, bringing with them the products of their neolithic culture. To this day the district between El-Kab and Esna is inhabited by the Ababda, and it is to their Hamitic forefathers that I would ascribe the neolithic remains met with here and in the Sudan.

The conquests of the Twelfth Dynasty introduced Egyptian culture into the districts south of the First and Second Cataracts, and the influence of this culture lasted down to the commencement of what I would call the Meroitic period. Except at Kawa, I found no pottery of the Eighteenth Dynasty type south of Sesebi, although blue fayence ornaments of the time of Amon-hotep III were discovered in a grave at Atbara, when the foundations of the railway workshop were being sunk, and two rams of Amon-hotep II, carved out of native Sudanese sandstone, were disinterred by Lepsius at Wad Ben-Naga. A few objects of the time of Amon-hotep III, including part of a 'marriage-scarab,' were found in

one of the chambers of the palace at Meroë, which was certainly built long after the age to which they belong. They may therefore have been brought as spoil from Egypt, but the broken condition of the scarab, and the fact that it was one of those which were sent to distant parts of the Egyptian empire, make it more probable that they had been found in the ground by the builders of the palace. However this may be, no pottery of Eighteenth Dynasty type has been met with at Meroë, whereas the vases in which the gold tribute was found are of distinctively Twelfth Dynasty character.*

Along with the absence of New Empire pottery goes a remarkable scarcity of bronze objects. Bronze objects were indeed discovered in graves of the Roman epoch at the western group of pyramids, and they were also met with in the palace among the relics of a time when Egypt was a dependency of the Sudan and Egyptian influence was all-powerful at Meroë. But apart from this, bronze is remarkably rare; its place was taken by iron, of the working of which there is abundant evidence. Mountains of iron-slag enclose the city-mounds on their northern and eastern sides, and excavation has brought to light the furnaces in which the iron was smelted and fashioned into tools and weapons. Meroë, in fact, must have been the Birmingham of ancient Africa; the smoke of its iron-smelting furnaces must have been continually going up to heaven, and the whole of northern Africa might have been supplied by it with implements of iron. Where the Egyptians used copper or bronze, the Ethiopians used iron. There was no copper or bronze age, apparently, in the Sudan; its inhabitants passed from the age of stone into that of iron.

Elsewhere in the Sudan, at Kerma, at Kawa, and in the island of Argo, I have found heaps of iron-slag, mixed with the clay crucibles in which the metal was fused, adjoining the ruins of a Meroitic temple. In most cases there was also a mound of burnt bones which appear to have been used in the manufacture of the enamelled tiles and other objects of fayence. It is a curious fact that the dynastic conquerors of Egypt, 'the followers of Horus,' were, according to Egyptian tradition, iron-smiths and not copper-

* Dr. MacIver and Mr. Woolley point out that the pyramids of the Ethiopian princes are traceable to the small brick pyramids erected in front of the twelfth dynasty tombs they have discovered at Wadi Halfa (*Karanog* p. 14).

smiths, and that each successive victory they gained over the older population of the country was marked by the erection of a *mesen*, or iron-forge. These forges became the sanctuaries of the later Egypt, and to the last that of Edfu continued to be known as the *mesen*. That the Egyptians were sporadically acquainted with iron, even in the pre-dynastic period, has been proved by the recent discovery by Professor Flinders Petrie of iron beads in a prehistoric cemetery in the Fayyûm.*

The builders of the palace at Meroë appear to have ascribed the foundation of their city to the Egyptian conqueror Amon-em-hat I. At all events, on one of the stones from the palace is what seems to be the name of that king. That he was believed to have been the founder of Napata, the earlier capital of the Sudan, may be inferred from an inscription from Gebel Barkal, built into the walls of the mediaeval fortress at Old Merawi, which mentions 'the city of the house of Amon-em-hat,' and a scarab found at Meroë, and now in the Khartum Museum, bears the name of the same king. It was the occupation of the Sudan by the sovereigns of the Twelfth Dynasty that may have brought the Sudanese into Upper Egypt with their stone celts and incised ware.

The history of Meroë, like that of the other cities of Ethiopia, goes back to the neolithic age. So far as our knowledge extends at present, it did not become the seat of civilisation or government until the ninth century B.C. Before that period, Napata, under the shadow of Gebel Barkal, had been the capital of the Sudan. Here, it would seem, had been the headquarters of the 'Princes of Kush,' who ruled Ethiopia in the name of the Pharaoh in the age of the Eighteenth and two succeeding dynasties, as well as of the priestly Ramessides from Thebes, who had found a refuge in the Sudan after the rise of the Twenty-second Dynasty, and had established there an independent sovereignty.† There was more than one reason for giving the preference to Meroë. It was in the fertile 'island' between the Atbara and the Blue Nile; it was at

* See my article on the 'Iron-workers of the Sudan' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, March 1911.

† This is the usual view. But it is just as possible that one of the 'Princes of Kush' made himself independent and founded an Ethiopian dynasty. The last Prince of whom we hear was Piankhi, the son of Her-Hor at the beginning of the 21st dynasty. His predecessor had been Pa-Nehsi, 'the Negro,' the Phinehas of the Old Testament.

the end of the trade-route which led from the Red Sea, across the Atbara, to the Nile; rich deposits of iron-ore lay close to it, and a little to the north were the sandstone cliffs from which the stones of its buildings could be quarried. And the white ants soon made it clear that, however suitable crude brick might be for building purposes in Egypt, it could not be used in the Sudan.

There were at least three palaces at Meroë, one of which has now been completely excavated. This is the south-western palace (No. 294) immediately to the west of the temple of Amon. The palace to the north of this has been only partially explored. Possibly it was the older of the two; if so, it was restored and to a large extent rebuilt in a late age.

The excavation of the south-western palace has yielded results of considerable historical importance. It, too, has been destroyed and rebuilt at least once. Its palmy days belong to the age of Aspalut or Aspalto, when it was the seat of the most powerful dynasty that, so far as we know, ever reigned over Ethiopia. The inscriptions on its broken columns and walls of stone, as well as on the objects of fayence found in one of its chambers have enabled us to recover a forgotten chapter of history. Its builder was Mal-neqen, whose name is also written Mal-neq. The Egyptian determinative *nefer* 'good' is always attached to the syllable Mal, and since on the Stela of Aspalut, now in Cairo, the determinatives of 'marching' are attached to the second element in the name of Mal-biwa we must conclude that *mal* signifies 'good' in the language of Ethiopia. If Mal-biwa meant 'good at marching,' Mal-neqen would have meant 'good' at something similar.

Mal-neqen entitles himself 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt,' 'the Son of the Sun,' 'eternally living,' 'the good god,' 'the lord of the two lands,' 'beloved of Harmachis,' 'of Bast,' and 'of Hathor of An (Dendera) the regent of the gods.' He is thus not only king of both Upper and Lower Egypt, but is also under the special protection of their presiding deities. On the other hand, unlike his successors, he has no prenomen; as 'Son of the Sun' and 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt', he is alike known only by his Ethiopian name.

We may infer from this that he was the first of the Ethiopian kings who was master of Egypt as well as of Ethiopia. That the

fayence objects found in the palace were made by Egyptian artisans admits of little doubt. The inscriptions upon them and the forms of the hieroglyphs alone would make this pretty certain. So, too, would the beautiful scarab which was in the same vase as some of the gold, and which would appear to have been manufactured in northern Egypt expressly for the Ethiopian king. On one of the stone fragments from the palace a deity, whose name is lost, is made to say: 'I have given thee the north and the south.'

The palace was enlarged by Aspalut or Aspalto, who took the prenomen of Mer-ka-Ra. Aspalut was the builder of the Sun-temple which was dedicated to Uben-Ra, 'the shining sun of morning,' of whom the king says in his stela that 'praised is his name Uben,' when he 'rise(s) from [the horizon],' 'marching in the sky,' 'eternally'. The high altar of the temple and the stairway that led to it were accordingly made to face east, where the sun rose each morning from the edge of the desert, immediately to the south of a range of hills. It is probable that an ivory plaque discovered by Layard at Nimroud, the ancient Calah, which represents a seated king on either side of Uben-Ra in a cartouche, came from the Sudan, like the seal of Sabako, discovered at Nineveh.

It was not only the rising sun, however, that was worshipped by Aspalut: he was also 'the beloved of Nefer-Tum,' the setting sun, and it is possible that the little chapel to the setting sun on the quay-wall at the western extremity of the city was built by him. As was natural, he further calls himself 'the beloved of Harmachis,' the risen Sun-god, who was personified by the Sphinx of Giza; he adored Amon only as Amon-Ra, 'Amon the Sun-god.' On a block from the part of the palace constructed by him, mention is made of Isis, and on another block, which also seems to belong to him, we find the name of Aten-Ra, the Solar Disk. Aten-Ra, however, is already commemorated in an inscription from the original building of Mal-neqen.

Whether Aspalut was the immediate successor of Mal-neqen is doubtful. Another king, Hor-matleq, more probably intervened between them, though it is also possible that the succession was in the inverse order, Hor-matleq being the successor of Aspalut. But

the pyramids of the gold tribute carry the names only of Mal-neqen and Hor-matleq; the gold pyramid of Mal-neqen, however, is a good deal worn as compared with those of Hor-matleq, so some interval of time may have elapsed between the manufacture of them. Hor-matleq assumed the prenomen of Uaz-ka-Ra, and, unlike Aspalut, was 'the beloved of Amon' as well as a worshipper of Amon-Ra. The name of Hor-matleq is practically new, for though it was found by Lepsius at Gebel Barkal, the first character in it was misread and the last was lost.

The names of other kings belonging to the dynasty of Mal-neqen have been brought to light by the inscriptions on the objects of fayence found in the palace, more especially the handles of the sistra which were presented by the queens to the kings on a New Year's Day.

The dynasty was Ethiopian, like the dynasty of Sabako; that is plain from the names. Its capital was Meroë, not Napata, but its kings claimed rule over the whole of Egypt, and their workmen must have been brought to a large extent from that country. What is the date to which the dynasty must be assigned?

Hitherto Aspalut has been supposed to have been a successor of Tanut-Amon, and consequently to have lived towards the close of the seventh century B.C., when the Twenty-sixth Dynasty was ruling in Egypt, and all Ethiopian authority was at an end. This we now know could not have been the case. Mal-neqen and his successors, who were lords of Egypt as well as of Ethiopia, must have lived before the rise of the Twenty-sixth Egyptian Dynasty, and the Persian conquest which followed it.

On the other hand, they did not belong to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty of Ethiopians, with whose names we are acquainted. There remains, therefore, only the period before the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to which they can be referred. In other words, the period of internal confusion and anarchy which preceded the accession of Sabako and began about B.C. 800 must have been that when Mal-neqen and his successors controlled the valley of the Nile. Naturally the Egyptian annals are discreetly silent on the subject, but it is now clear that the later kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty, along with the kings of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth, were merely kinglets who ruled in the Delta at the pleasure

of their lord, the Ethiopian King. Memphis and Thebes were only the capitals of provinces governed by the satraps of the King of Meroë.

The campaign of Piankhi Meri-Amon against Egypt now becomes intelligible. It was undertaken simply to suppress a rebellion among his Egyptian subjects. Hence it was that most of the Egyptian cities opened their gates to him, and that he offered sacrifices at Memphis and Heliopolis as the legitimate Pharaoh of northern Egypt. The names he assumed—User-mat-Ra Meri-Amon Si-Bast—were those that had been borne by the Pharaohs of the Twenty-second Dynasty (Osorkon II, Sheshenq III, and Pamai), and they were also borne by his own vassal, the native prince of Tel-el-Yahudîya. The name Piankhi itself reminded his subjects of Piankhi the son of the High Priest Herhor, the last 'Prince of Kush' of whom we hear.

Piankhi did not belong to the dynasty of Mal-neqen, though, so far as the possession of Egypt was concerned, he entered into the fruit of their labours. He was a worshipper of Amon, and his capital was at Napata, not Meroë. His date is fixed by the fact that Osorkon III of the Twenty-third Dynasty was his vassal. Professor Flinders Petrie is doubtless right in making him the immediate predecessor of Kashto, 'the Kushite,' who was succeeded by Sabako. The monuments of more than one later Piankhi have been found at Gebel Barkal and elsewhere; one of them was the father of Taharqa.

The Egyptian campaign of Piankhi occurred in his twenty-first year, and we may follow Professor Flinders Petrie in placing the commencement of his reign about B.C. 748. The Mal-neqen dynasty will therefore have occupied the throne before this date, and the transference of the capital of Ethiopia from Meroë to Napata will have already occurred. Considering the number of royal names belonging to the dynasty of Mal-neqen with which the excavations at Meroë have made us acquainted, I do not think we should be far wrong in placing the Ethiopian conquest of Egypt shortly after the death of Osorkon II, about B.C. 850. Osorkon II was the last king of the Twenty-second Dynasty whose monuments show any sign that he was more than a mere kinglet. At the same time a semblance of power must have been left to his successors,

since the records of the Nile levels on the quay at Karnak are dated in the regnal years of some of them, proving that they were still recognised by the priesthood in Upper Egypt.

Mal-neqen and his descendants were worshippers of the Sun-god rather than of the ram-headed Amon, who looms so largely in the later history of Meroë. On the so-called 'Excommunication Stela,' found at Gebel Barkal, Aspalut describes how he 'went in state to the temple of his father Amon of Napata, residing in the Holy Mountain, that he might expel that sect hateful to God which they call, "Do not cook, let violence kill."' Sir Gaston Maspero suggests that the reference here is to eating raw meat; at any rate, it describes the expulsion of the priests of Amon from the temple in which they served. And while thus reforming the worship and conception of Amon at Napata, the king was occupied in raising temples to the Sun-god in his own capital, Meroë. What is still more noticeable is that in the royal palace itself a chapel was erected in honour of Aten-Ra, the god of the 'Heretic King' of Egyptian history. With this goes the fact that a later king, Nastosen, tells us that Aspalut had showered gifts upon the temple of Qem-Aton, the Sudanese capital of the 'Heretic King,' the site of which has been discovered by Professor Breasted at Sesebi. It is difficult not to see in this a declaration of the belief that he was the representative and restorer of the cult which Akhen-Aton had endeavoured to force upon his Egyptian subjects. It is significant that when Nastosen recovered the treasure from the wild tribes of Medît who had robbed it he gave it back, not to Aton-Ra but to 'Amon of Per-Qem-Aton.'

At Meroë itself the influence of the solar cult was long and strongly felt. Excavation has failed to discover there any remains of an early temple of Amon; the great temple of Amon seems to belong throughout to the later history of the city. On the other hand, the first deity the traveller and trader from the interior was called upon to adore was Uben-Ra. His temple, with the great reservoir of water beside it, was the last stage in the journey from the east. A gentle slope, along which a motor could easily be driven, leads to Basa, with another great reservoir, and a temple which also seems to have been dedicated to the Sun. In the chapels of the royal pyramids, sometimes the solar disk,

sometimes the solar bark, is sculptured over the false door which led into the tomb; and the doors of the palace, as was natural, were surmounted by the image of the winged disk. The king, as in Egypt, was always 'the son of the Sun,' sometimes, indeed, the Sun himself; he was never the son of Amon, or the ram by which Amon was symbolised.

Eventually, however, the priests of Amon prevailed. The name of Aspalut was erased from the 'Excommunication Stela,' though the monument itself, like those of Akhen-Aton in Egypt, was allowed to remain; his stela at the Sun-temple was broken into fragments; Nastosen, the conqueror of Kambyses, was elected to the throne by the priests of 'Amon of Baruat' or Meroë; and a time came when the King of Ethiopia, we are told, had to slay himself at their bidding. The Sun-worshippers of the dynasty of Meroë had to give place to the Amon-worshippers of the dynasty of Napata.

But there could have been no such antagonism between them as there was between the followers of the 'Heretic King' and their opponents in Egypt. The monuments of Aspalut were found at Gebel Barkal, along with those of Piankhi and Hor-si-atef, in the ruins of the temple of Amon, if we may believe the story of the natives who sent them to Cairo. And there is no reason for not doing so; the temple was restored by Piankhi, and according to Egyptian custom, he would have carefully preserved the historical monuments of his royal predecessors.

The conquest of Egypt brought the Ethiopians to the frontiers of Judah. Ethiopia and Judah became allies, with the result that when Judah was threatened with destruction by the Assyrians, Taharqa marched to its defence, and at the battle of Eltekeh his Sudanese soldiers saved Jerusalem and the Jewish monarch from Sennacherib. Isaiah shows himself well acquainted with the southernmost regions of the Sudan, 'beyond the rivers' of Abyssinia; his description of the region of the Sudd is so exact that it could have been derived only from an eye-witness. It is possible that this acquaintance with the Kingdom of Meroë may have begun at an earlier age even than that of Mal-neqen; if Zerah, 'the Ethiopian,' who invaded Palestine in the time of Asa (2 Chr., xiv), is not to be identified with the Egyptian Osorkon I,

the Delta would already have been under Ethiopian control about 895 B.C.

The great wall or *enceinte* which surrounds the south-western palace and the quarter of the city in which it stood, belongs to a much later period, at all events in its present form. On the blocks of stone of which it is composed I have found quarry marks, and at the back of the temple of Amon, where it is well preserved, there are, besides the quarry marks, the ligatured Greek letters HP, deeply cut and well formed. In some cases the letters are upside down or turned upon their side, proving that they must have been engraved before the stones were laid in position, and in one case they are preceded by the accentual sign of the rough breathing ῾. As the accentual signs were invented by Aristophanes of Byzantium, the erection of the wall cannot be earlier than the reign of Ptolemy IV (Philopator) with which the forms of the letters would agree. It would be the time when Ergamenes emancipated the kingdom from its bondage to the priests of Amon, as Professor Mahaffy has shown, and brought Greek artists and workmen to Meroë. After his massacre of the priests of Amon, he naturally sought to protect himself from the vengeance of the hierarchy, and the great wall, accordingly, which is built in Greek fashion, separates the palace and royal town from the temple of the god. Its architect would have had the name of Heron, Herophilus, Herakleides, or something similar.

The influence of Greek culture at Meroë from the age of Ergamenes onward is very apparent. Among the priesthood, and consequently in the religious cult, Egyptian influence continued to be predominant up to the end of the monarchy, but at court it was largely superseded by that of Hellenism. In the winter of 1909-10 a fragment of Greek *terra sigillata*—the prototype of 'Samian ware'—which belongs to the second century B.C., was obtained from the mounds; on it, in relief, are the letters ΒΑΣ . . . which probably represent a name like Basileides or Basilis. The naturalistic decoration of the 'biscuit ware' is derived from Ptolemaic models, which again owed their inspiration to Naukratis.

Greek influence was succeeded in its turn by Latin influence. The stamped patterns of the later 'biscuit ware' cannot be earlier

than the second century of our era, and the bronzes and pottery with its Greek and Meroitic inscriptions found in the grave of Valerius—which, it must be remembered, was a secondary interment—are of the Roman type. On the other hand, the bronze lamp found in a ruined pyramid of the western group, which doubtless belonged to the original occupant of the tomb, is Hellenistic in character.

After the partial destruction of Meroë in the first century of our era, the court and priesthood themselves became more and more African. The kings married negresses, and their offspring grew more and more negroid, while the royal power, for that very reason, passed from the hands of the king to those of the queen. The later architecture of the north-western palace, with its painted chamber, is thoroughly barbarous, and the royal race ceases to be depicted with Hamitic features. The sculptures and hieroglyphs of the later pyramids are grotesquely African, the names of the sovereigns are written either in Meroitic letters or not at all, and the mythology and gods of Egypt are a mere tradition, imperfectly understood. When Meroë fell in the fourth century of our era it had practically ceased to be Ethiopian.

The record of its destruction is to be found in the fragmentary Greek inscription which I published in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, June, 1909. As I was out of the reach of libraries at the time, and have since been able to compare it with the Greek inscriptions of the Kings of Axum, I am now better able to supply the lacunae, and therefore once more give it here:—

1. [Ἀειζάνας βασιλεὺς Ἀξω]μειτῶν καὶ Ὁμηρειτῶ[ν
2. [υἱὸς θεοῦ ἀνικήτου] Ἄρεως· ἀντιδικησάντ[ων
3. [. . . κατὰ καιρ]ὸν παρακούσας ἀπὸ τῆς [πολεως ? . . .
4. ἐν τοῖς β]ασ(?)ιλίοις καὶ ἐξεπέρθησα τὰς ὗ[λας ?
5. [. . . εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ? τὸ κατα]κλειθὲν παρελθών
6. [οἱ] γενναταὶ ἕτερον δέκαρ[χον
7. σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ μέχρι το[ῦ . . .
8. [. . . τὰ σκεύη ? τὰ] ἅγια εἰς τὰ ἐν τῇ σεκ*
9. [στρ]ατηγοὺς καὶ τέκνα
10. ἦλθον αὐτί[κα
11. ἐν ταῖ]ς οἰκίαις οἰκί[αις αὐτῶν . . .
12. ἐπίφοροι
13. χάλκεον
14. ων καὶ

* Perhaps κεκλημένη, σ being written by mistake for κ.

1. [Aeizanas, King of the Ax]umites, and Homerites, [of Raeidan, Kas, etc.].
2. [son of the unconquered God] Arês: [When the people of Meroë ?] had a dispute [concerning . . .]
3. . . . having only heard [it], from the [city I departed?]. .
4. . . . [I dwelt in the] palaces (?) and ravaged the [woods?]. . . .
5. . . . after passing [into the sanctuary?] that had been closed, [I decided that]
6. . . . [the] sheikhs (γεννηται) [should elect] another decurion . . .
7. . . . [who should go] with the king as far as the [sanctuary?] . . .
8. [and should take the] sacred [vessels] into the [sanctuaries] in the place called (?) . . .
9. . . . [the] generals and [their?] children [I summoned?]. .
10. . . . they came; forthwith . . .
11. . . . [in their] common households . . .
12. . . . [they were] willing . . .
13. . . . a bronze [tablet ?].
14.

As Aeizanas was converted to Christianity about A.D. 340, I have followed Littmann rather than D. H. Müller in ascribing the inscription to him. At the time it was made the Axumite king was still a worshipper of Arês. Meroë had been captured and destroyed before Christianity had been introduced into the country; among the numerous graffiti on the ruined walls of the temple of Amon there is nothing Christian, and except perhaps at the 'Kenîsa,' nothing that can be ascribed to a Christian origin has been brought to light. We have to go to the Pyramids and Sun-temple to find the emblems and names of Christianity.

PART III—ON THE BRONZE PORTRAIT-HEAD

By Professor R. C. BOSANQUET

WITH PLATES XII—XVI

The discovery at Meroë, 400 miles beyond the Roman frontier, of a bronze portrait-head in the finest style of Roman Imperial art, demands some explanation. The circumstances of the find only explain its good condition. It had been buried, and, as it seemed to the excavator, deliberately buried, in a pocket of clean sand before the entrance to one of the chief buildings within the palace enclosure or Royal City. The building was a great columned hall adorned with frescoes representing 'a king and queen in scenes of ceremonial and triumph.' Within its walls there was found an intrusive structure of later date, 'a massive pedestal, as if for an equestrian statue or group, with its foundations half as high as the original columns.'

About the personage represented there can be no doubt. Before the head reached England, when only a small photograph was available, a distinguished numismatist suggested that it bore some resemblance to the profile of Germanicus on coins, and this view was adopted provisionally by the finder. 'To judge from the profile,' wrote Professor Garstang, in the Guide to his Exhibition of Antiquities from Meroë, 'it is possible that this head represents Germanicus (B.C. 15—A.D. 19), who, during his military career, was stationed at one period in Syria, and is known from the *Annals* of Tacitus to have made a voyage by the Nile to Aswan.' In letters to the *Times* and *Athenaeum* he has since abandoned this view, and given his adherence to those who maintained that the head represented Augustus.

To remove all doubt I have placed side by side (Plates XV and XVI) the Meroë head and that of the marble statue of Augustus found in the villa of the Empress Livia at Prima Porta, near Rome. Both have been photographed from casts in the British Museum by Mr. F. Anderson, under Mr. F. H. Marshall's direction.

The Prima Porta statue is a touchstone by which other portraits of the Emperor may be tried. It is certainly a contemporary

portrait, whereas, of the numerous busts which have survived, many were manufactured a century or two later for those series of Emperors with which it was the fashion to adorn villas and public buildings. More than that, it was a portrait which satisfied those nearest to the person represented, since Livia gave it a place of honour in her palace. It is in all probability a first-hand portrait made by one who had ample opportunities of studying his subject. Augustus is here portrayed as *Imperator* in the act of addressing his troops. His right arm is raised, his left hand held, not the sceptre placed there by the restorer, but more probably a spear. He wears a cuirass of bronze, fitting closely, and enriched with exquisitely modelled figures in relief. The Cupid beside him, riding on the dolphin, reminds the spectator that the Julian house traced its descent from Aphrodite, and that in the eyes of many of his subjects Augustus himself ranked as a god. These statues of Emperors 'in uniform' were numerous. The neck-line of our head suggests that in this case there was a tunic within the wide collar of the cuirass.

It has been held by good authorities that the Prima Porta statue represents Augustus at the age of fifty or more. A study of Plates XV and XVI leaves no doubt that the Meroë head represents the same man in the prime of early manhood; his face is still unlined, his nose less fleshy, his bearing full of serene strength.

Like many portraits of the Emperors, the Meroë head is of heroic size*. The height of the complete figure would be over eight feet; that of the Prima Porta statue, itself slightly larger than life, is 2·06 metres or 6 feet 9 inches. In Roman times larger portraits were not uncommon. Two heads of Augustus and Tiberius found at Veii, and now in the Vatican, measure a foot from hair to chin; and in the courtyard of the Vatican, known as the Giardino della Pigna, there is a monstrous and much restored head of marble, possibly representing Augustus, the face of which measures no less than 1·20 metres, or 4 feet.

* Mr. Arthur H. Smith has kindly furnished the chief dimensions of the Meroë head in millimetres:—

Crown of head to base of neck in front	430	mm.
,, ,, angle of throat and chin	323	,,
,, ,, point of chin ...	296	,,
Point of chin to top of forehead ...	215	,,
Top of forehead to crown of head ...	81	,,

It is interesting to compare our head with the description of the Emperor given by Suetonius in his biography: 'He was singularly handsome and kept his good looks throughout his life. However, he was careless in his dress and took little pains about the arrangement of his hair, so much so, that in order to save time, he allowed several barbers to trim it at once. At one time he would have his beard cut, at another shaved, and always read or wrote during the process. His expression both in speaking and when silent was calm and serene; his eyes were bright and clear, and he liked it to be thought that they were the homes of some divine power; it delighted him when those upon whom he gazed lowered their eyes as though dazzled by the sun. His teeth were wide apart, small and much decayed; his hair, somewhat curly and light brown in colour; his eyebrows met; his ears were of medium size; his nose high and drooping at the tip; his complexion neither swarthy nor pale; his stature small, but the good proportions of his limbs disguised his lack of height, and it was only noticed when he stood beside a person taller than himself.' (*Divus Augustus*, 79.)

The head from Meroë enables us to realise better than any other extant portrait a characteristic noted both by Suetonius and by Pliny, the piercing brilliance of the Emperor's eyes. Tacitus puts into the mouth of Germanicus (*Annals* I, 42) addressing the mutinous legions at Cologne, an allusion to this quality: 'The divine Julius once quelled an army's mutiny with a single word the divine Augustus cowed the legions who had fought at Actium with a single look (*vultu et aspectu*).' A fourth century writer (the *Epitome* published under the name of Aurelius Victor) describes him as 'corpore toto pulcher sed magis oculis.'

Alone among the extant portraits the Meroë head shows the eyes as the sculptor designed them. As compared with those of the marble heads they are more prominent and less shaded by the upper lids. In the Prima Porta statue the inner angle of the eye is carried somewhat further towards the nose, and the eye is somewhat larger. This is natural. The painted eye of the marble statue could never be so conspicuous as the inlaid eye of the bronze. The pupil is of glass, set in a bronze ring. The material of the iris, partly black, partly yellow, is not easy to determine; Mr. Arthur Smith thinks it may be some hard pebble; there are traces

of scaling which suggested to Professor Garstang enamel or faience. The whites are of alabaster (or possibly marble, like those of the ephebus found outside Pompeii in 1900), and are contained in a bronze setting. The condition of all these parts is surprisingly good. The eyes are alive, in fact too much so; they glare like a wild beast's. No doubt the bronze eyelashes, which are only preserved in part, did something to screen and soften their expression. Even so we are reminded of Pliny's striking phrase:— 'Augustus had gleaming eyes like those of a horse, the eyeballs very white and of more than common size; and that is why he was offended if anyone gazed steadily at them.' (*N.H.* XI, 143.)

In the formation of the mouth, our head differs from the other portraits of Augustus with which I am familiar. It comes nearest, as might be expected, to the portraits which represent him as a boy. Yet even in them one can detect that drawing in of the corners of the mouth which becomes so marked a trait in the later heads (Plate XV, *b*). Apparently the modeller of our head idealised the lips, making them conform to the conventions of Greek sculpture. The result is no lack of decision; in certain lights the vertical lines at the corners of the mouth give the bronze head a singular expression of stern mastery. One may suspect Greek influence also in the ampler form of the skull; the Prima Porta head, doubtless truer to life, is much more brachycephalic. The arrangement of the hair, recalling Polyclitan heads, is common to the whole series of portraits of Augustus. It is curious that sculptors who idealised other features did not modify the spreading ears, so characteristic of Roman men at this period. Comparison of these, as of other features on Plates XV and XVI, suggests that the modeller of the Meroë head, working probably at Athens or Alexandria or elsewhere in the provinces, was content with broad generalisations, whereas the court sculptor was able to make a minutely careful copy from life. The half-idealised presentment was well fitted for its purpose, to bring home to Orientals the strength and beauty of a new Alexander.

We have still to account for the presence of this work of Graeco-Roman art so far outside the Empire.

The Southern frontier of the Roman Empire was generally at

Hierasycaminos, 70 miles south of Assuan (Syene), but it was sometimes pushed 70 miles further south to Premnis, where the ruins of a Roman fort still guard the hill on the east bank of the Nile. The Nubians were restless neighbours, and frequently pressed their raids as far as Syene, and even into Upper Egypt. We hear, in particular, of one raid made in 24 B.C. by Candace, Queen of Ethiopia. Strabo tells (p. 820) how her troops surprised the three cchorts stationed at Syene, capturing that and neighbouring towns and making many prisoners*. 'They even wrenched from their bases (*ἀνέσπασαν cf.* Herodotus, v. 86) the statues of Caesar.' Petronius, however, the Roman Governor, came to the rescue with a small force, drove them back into the Ethiopian city of Pselchis and opened negotiations by demanding the restoration of their plunder and enquiring their reasons for making war. Obtaining no satisfaction, he attacked and won an easy victory over the motley, ill-equipped multitude. He then pushed up the river and reached Napata, the old capital and religious centre of the Ethiopian kingdom, 75 miles south-west of Abu Hammed. Here Candace had a palace, and Petronius was able to open negotiations with her in a neighbouring village. The Queen proposed a treaty of friendship, and offered to restore the prisoners and the statues carried off from Syene. Nevertheless, Petronius captured Napata and destroyed it, carrying off a host of prisoners and much booty. He established a frontier garrison at Premnis, but some years later Candace attacked this outpost. Petronius returned in time to relieve the place, and told the Ethiopians that this time they must send an embassy to Augustus himself. Accordingly, their envoys were escorted to Samos, where Augustus was holding his court at the moment (20 B.C.). He received them graciously and remitted the tribute which had been imposed upon them. We are not told that the statues were given back to the barrack-chapel—or the forum—at Syene.

This narrative suggests two possibilities. The bronze head may have been a part of the loot of B.C. 24, or it may have formed part of a gift to the Queen of Ethiopia following on the reception of her envoys in B.C. 20. Augustus was born in 63 B.C. A statue set up about 30 B.C. would represent him at the age of thirty and upwards.

* The importance of this passage as bearing on the Meroë find was first pointed out by a writer in the *Athenaeum* of June 24, 1911.

A statue made about B.C. 20 would represent him as he was at forty or more. The youthful features and smooth surface of the portrait are in favour of the earlier date.

Augustus travelled through Egypt in the summer or autumn of B.C. 30. It may be that he then went as far as Syene, and that this statue commemorated his visit. Some such hypothesis is required to account for the workmanship of the head; it is finer work than one would expect to find in the *Principia* of a frontier garrison. Its good condition need not surprise us, for the raiders probably saw in it the chief god of the Romans—and those glowering eyes were enough to compel respect. Concealment may have seemed prudent when Petronius began his advance; or was it buried before the doors of this hall in the palace as a charm to put the king's enemies under his feet? A scene on the wall of the Sun Temple shows the king making his enemies his footstool*.

On the other hand, a statue of Augustus commemorating the peace made in Samos may have stood on the pedestal already described (page 66), and have been transformed into some later emperor or Ethiopian king by fitting his bust into the Imperial cuirass. This parsimonious form of loyalty was treason in the Roman Empire, but at Meroë there was nobody to resent it.

Whatever the reasons for its burial, the head is a singularly fine specimen of a very rare class. We have about a hundred marble portraits of Augustus, for several have come to light since Bernoulli's enumeration†. Only last year the Museo Nazionale in Rome was enriched by a statue in civil dress, with remains of colour, found in the Via Labicana. But, owing to the value of the metal, the amount of sculpture in bronze that has survived to our own day is lamentably small. Bronze portraits of Augustus must have existed by thousands, yet only six seem to be known to-day, and three of these are insignificant miniature busts. The others are a mediocre statue found at Herculaneum, now in the Naples Museum; a vigorous youthful head in the Vatican Library; and the Meroë head. Englishmen owe a great debt of gratitude to the Sudan Government and to the officers of the National Art Collections Fund, who made it possible to secure this splendid work of ancient art for the British Museum.

* *Meroë*, 1909-10, Pl. xxxiii, 3.

† Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie* II i. pp. 23-44. He discusses 97 statues and busts, including some that are doubtful. The Vatican bronze, mentioned below, is illustrated (Taf. IV).

EXPLORATION CARRIED ON IN BRITISH HONDURAS DURING 1908-9

By T. W. GANN

Saltillo *

There are a great number of mounds and earthworks situated at this place, even in the small area which has as yet been cleared from forest. The most remarkable is a quadrangular space, measuring eighty yards by thirty-five yards, elevated from four to five feet above the surrounding ground level, and enclosed by four large mounds, from twelve to thirty feet in height, connected by a bank or rampart ten feet high. Adjoining this is another and smaller quadrangle, also enclosed by mounds. In the centre of each of these spaces stands a small mound four feet high. The central mound in the large quadrangle is itself quadrangular, and faced throughout with nicely squared stones. It measures twenty-five feet by twelve feet, and was approached by three broad stone faced steps, leading up to the central elevation or altar. A trench was dug through the centre of this mound, and it was found to be constructed of blocks of limestone, the interstices between which were filled in with a cement-like substance, containing innumerable fragments of pottery. At a depth of two feet, near the centre of the mound, a small unpainted, unglazed bead vase, containing four greenstone beads, was found; and immediately beneath this, at a depth of five feet, a few pieces of human long bones. No trace was found of a skull or teeth with these. Around the base of the largest mound, which was thirty feet in height, a great number of fragments of pottery incensarios were found, together with the images of the gods which had decorated them externally. Eight complete heads have, up to the present, been obtained, together with two broken ones, and numbers of arms, legs, and bodies, with a variety of small objects which were held in the hands of the images. These vessels were almost exactly similar to those found

* For the positions of the various sites, see Map, Pl. XVII, and for some of the objects mentioned in this paper, see Pls. XVIII and XIX. [Dr. Gann is at present engaged on a Catalogue of his Collection wherein all these objects figured will be fully described.—Ed.]

along the valleys of the Usumasintla and Rio de la Passion, described by Seler in his 'Antiquities of Guatemala.' Rude specimens, with the face of the god only decorating the outside of the vessel, were also found by Sapper and Charnay in use amongst the Lacondon Indians, a few years ago. The dress and ornaments of these clay figures, which varied from one to two feet in height, are those found almost universally throughout Central America. The huge round ear-ornaments, with a tassel or twisted pendant hanging from the centre, the curious projecting, feather-like ornament above the nose, and the small circular labrets at each angle of the mouth, are present in all, and are highly characteristic. Upon all the feet are elaborate sandals, fastened by thongs attached between the first and second, and third and fourth toes, with a band passing round the front of the ankle, and ending in a broad dependent flap. Around the legs are plain bands, and rows of beads; around the wrists are strings of beads, sometimes fastened by an ornamental loop. The breastplates are of quilted cotton, some very elaborate, and decorated with beads, studs, and tassels, whilst hanging down from the lower part of the breastplate is the 'Maxtli' or small apron commonly worn by Aztecs and Toltecs. The objects held in the hands consist of birds, fans, globes, incense burners, and other less easily distinguishable articles. The whole of the space within the earth-work appears to have been covered with those fragments of pottery vases and idols, but it is only around the base of the large mound that entire heads were found. The fragments appear to have been originally placed upon the ground, and in the course of time covered by a thin layer of earth, as many of them still lie upon the surface, and nowhere are they more than a few inches deep, except at the base of the mound, where earth from its sides would naturally have been washed down by rains and covered them with a slightly deeper layer. On making excavations at various points within the enclosed space, the floor was found to consist, first, of the earth, which contained the broken incensarios, with some blocks of limestone; and beneath this of a layer about four feet thick, composed of marl dust, very small fragments of pottery, and rubble, welded together to an almost cement-like hardness. There are still to be found in the remoter parts of Honduras, Guatemala, and Southern Yucatan, mounds

which have probably never been visited since the Conquest, and upon these are occasionally discovered entire hour-glass-shaped pottery incensarios, with the face or the entire figure of a god (usually Itzauma or Cuculcan) decorating them externally. In the same locality, Sapper saw these vessels in the great Christa of the Settlement of Izan, whilst Charnay found them in the ruins of MencheTinamit.* They do not appear to have been found outside these narrow limits. In my own experience, the presence of great numbers of the fragments of these curious vessels indicates a burial place, and I have no doubt that further excavation amongst the Saltillo mounds, and in the quadrangle, will yield a number of ancient graves.

Douglas. A

A large mound, containing on its summit the ruins of a building, was excavated near Douglas. The mound stood about forty feet high, the last ten feet of which consisted of the roofless walls of a small building, constructed of large blocks of squared stone. On clearing out the débris, the floor was found to be constructed of hard, smooth cement. Beneath one of the walls, a small recess was discovered, and within this were found (*a*) one flint axe head, (*b*) one flint spear head, (*c*) five flint hammer stones, (*d*) three stone beads, together with one spear head, (*e*) four arrow heads, (*f*) four cores, and six knives, all of obsidian. With these objects were three pottery bowls, coloured yellow, nicely polished and decorated in yellow, red, and black. The largest was twelve inches in diameter, and was ornamented externally with two figures of a curious double-headed monster, one head resembling somewhat that of a horse, the other that of a tapir or elephant. Another vessel, nine and a half inches in diameter, stood upon four hollow legs, and was decorated with the figure of the same curious double-headed animal. The smallest, only six and a half inches in

*And from the country of the Ycaiché and Sta Cruz, I have myself obtained perfect specimens found by these Indians on the summits and sides of small mounds which, owing to their inaccessible position in the dense bush, had never been disturbed. These Indians retain no traditions as to the builders of the mounds, though most of them in all probability are not more than a century or two old, and all were erected by their own ancestors, who at the time of the Conquest of Itza, during the last years of the 17th century, still practised their ancient religious rites.

diameter, was decorated with geometrical devices in red and yellow. All these objects were grouped around two large, red, polished, basin-shaped vessels, each sixteen inches in diameter, one of which was superimposed upon the other, and which contained between them a few fragments of human bone, very much decayed. In the mound itself, almost touching the walls of the chamber, was found a large, roughly-hollowed stone, the concavity containing eleven small, light, more or less spherical stones, together with two small circular discs of shell, with alternate quadrangular and triangular markings round their margins, very much resembling the dial of a watch. Collections of these small, very light stones, one to three inches in diameter, are not uncommon in the mounds of Honduras. They vary in number from five to thirteen, and are almost always accompanied by a large spherical stone, ten to fifteen inches in diameter, usually of limestone. They are, as a rule, associated with a burial, and must, I imagine, have been used in some game.* Possibly the small shell discs may have been used as counters or markers in the same game, though I have never before found them associated with the stones.

Douglas. B

A large mound, thirty feet high, with very steep sides, was excavated near Douglas. It was composed of limestone dust and limestone blocks, covered with a layer of earth. About two feet beneath the surface were found a curious reddish vase, with three bulbs and two constrictions, somewhat resembling an hour glass with an extra bulb; a small three-legged vessel of rough pottery, and a very well executed head and shoulders, also of pottery. In the ears of this last were the usual large circular ear-rings; projecting from the bridge of the nose, a curious curved ornament, and round the neck a bead-decorated collar. The excavation was continued to a depth of ten feet, but nothing further was discovered.

*Two remarkably fine stones of this description were found in the Northern District of British Honduras some years ago. They are composed of hard crystalline limestone, nicely polished, spheroidal in shape, weighing about 25 lbs. each, and perforated longitudinally near the top by two holes, intersecting each other at right angles. These stones were found in a small burial mound unaccompanied by any other relics.

Douglas. C

A small mound, near Douglas, ten feet high, by twenty-five feet in diameter, standing upon the edge of a flat circular elevation about four feet in height, was dug out. The mound was built throughout of alternate layers of cement, about six inches in thickness, and of rubble, from eighteen inches to two feet in thickness. At a depth of two feet, a small clay whistle was found, meant to represent some animal, and provided with three holes, so that by stopping one or more holes with the fingers three different notes could be produced. At the bottom of the mound, near its centre, were found some fragments of human long bones, and mixed indiscriminately with these were three pottery malacates, or spindle whorls, two obsidian knives, one greenstone bead, and one small, red ware, saucer-shaped vessel.

Douglas. D

Several other mounds at Douglas were opened (with indifferent success), one of which may be described, as it represents the typical small burial mound of the district. It was conical in shape, eighteen feet high, and built throughout of limestone dust and large blocks of limestone. Near the centre, at a depth of four feet, was found a nearly spherical vase of red ware, with an opening surrounded by a rim, and covered by a small hemispherical vase of black ware. With these, was a well-made flint spear head. On excavating to a depth of twelve feet, near the centre, there were found two large reddish-yellow plaques. One was twelve and a half inches in diameter, and was decorated round the edge with two curious animals with bird-like heads, long beaks, and frills around the neck. The other, thirteen inches in diameter, was decorated with two animals with heads like seals or manatee, and long, tripartite tails. Within the larger of these plaques were found nine obsidian knives, two greenstone beads, one shell, and one flint spear head. With the plaques was a bowl-shaped vessel, nine inches in diameter, and four and a half inches in depth, one or two nicely decorated potsherds, half a bone ring, and a small pottery face, probably that of a bird. Amongst these objects were a few fragments of human skull and long bones. This is by far the

commonest type of burial mound found in Honduras. On the summit of the mound, or buried superficially, are a few articles of rough pottery, usually having holes smashed in their bottoms. Deeper down, or at the ground level, generally near the centre of the mound, are a few pieces of pottery of superior ware, a few ornaments, such as beads, gorgets, earrings, etc., with sometimes a few hammer stones, flint spear and arrow heads, and obsidian knives, all surrounding the skeleton.

The Three kinds of Burial

Three kinds of burial seem to have been commonly employed. The poorest class were buried in large flat mounds, sometimes half an acre in extent, and containing as many as forty or fifty interments. The body was buried with the feet drawn in to the pelvis, the knees drawn up to the chin, the arms crossed over the chest, and the chin pressed down on the pubes; the position, in fact, in which it took up least room. With it were usually a few flint hammer stones, a few clay or shell beads, a few weapons of the roughest type, and one or two common unglazed pottery vessels. The mound last described, at Douglas, is typical of the next kind of burial, each individual having a mound to himself varying from two to thirty feet in height. The position of the skeleton, where it has been possible to ascertain it, is usually, though not invariably, the same here as in the first variety.* The third mode of burial was reserved probably for the priests, caciques, and other important individuals. The interment took place in a stone cist or chamber within a large mound, varying from twenty to fifty feet in height, The skeleton is found stretched at full length, and surrounded by nicely painted and decorated vases, beautiful greenstone, shell, obsidian, and mother-of-pearl beads, gorgets, studs, ear-rings, and

*Occasionally, however, the body is found buried head down: the arms in this case are folded across the chest, the thighs flexed, and the knees jammed tightly on to the shoulders. In two instances of this form of burial a large, heavy, flat stone, from which a semicircular piece had been removed, was placed over the lower jaw, the neck fitting into the groove in the stone, as if to prevent any possibility of the corpse leaving its grave.

other ornaments.* Less frequently the curious ceremonial flints, sometimes of immense size and elaborate workmanship, found only within a very narrow area, consisting of Yucatan, Honduras, and the adjacent part of Guatemala, are present in these burial chambers.

Moho Cay

This is a small island, chiefly composed of mangrove swamp, situated near the mouth of the Mopan River. At its eastern extremity are a few acres of solid land, which are, however, rapidly being eaten away by the action of the sea. This island was at one time evidently much more extensive than it is at present, and formed apparently a sort of fishing station for Indians coming down the Mopan river in their doreys from the interior. On dredging beyond the eastern end of the island, large quantities of manatee bones were found, together with small spear and javelin heads of nearly black flint, and great numbers of small pottery rings, varying from half an inch to two inches in diameter. Most of these rings had evidently been manufactured from pieces of broken vessels, some of which had not even been rounded on their outer margins. On excavating upon the island itself, abundance of chips of the same dark flint, manatee bones, and rings were found, together with numerous potsherds. It is difficult to imagine to what use these rings can have been put, but their association with great numbers of manatee bones would suggest that they had been employed in some way in the capture of that animal, possibly as net sinkers. Judging by the number of bones found, manatee must at one time have abounded at the mouth of the Mopan river, though none are to be found there at the present day. Indian mounds and relics are common upon most of the habitable cays along the coast of Honduras. Probably the most interesting of these is a small island named Wild Cane Cay, situated near the mainland, at the extreme South of British Honduras. It is only a few acres in extent, and has apparently been almost entirely built up artificially,

*Sometimes these mounds contain two, or even three chambers or cists superimposed one upon the other; the skeleton is then usually found in the top cist, the accompanying belongings occupying the lower ones. Very rarely partial cremation was practised, and fragments of the half-burnt bones are found within a large pottery urn.

by depositing blocks of reef stone upon the foundation of a small mangrove cay. There are four mounds upon the island, built of reefstone and earth, into which the owner, wishing to obtain stone, has recently been digging. At a depth of about four feet, in one of the mounds, a human skeleton was discovered, with which was a small spherical earthenware pot containing a flint spear head, two copper rings, a copper ornament, and the upper part of the left femur of some animal of considerable size. The femur is decorated throughout its whole extent with elaborate designs, neatly etched upon the surface, amongst which conventional representations of the heads of the Maya Gods Cuculcan and Itzauma are easily distinguishable. The copper ornament consists of a head, wearing what appears to be a crown of thorns or spikes. The face is long and bearded, and quite un-Toltec in character, whilst attached to the back of it is a small cross. These copper objects show, I think, undoubted Spanish influence, as rings do not appear to have been worn by the Toltecs before the Spanish Conquest, and the head is, if not a head of Christ, undoubtedly a Christian symbol. It would appear as if the individual, whose remains these objects accompany, was wavering in his allegiance between the old and the new faith, and, determined in any case to be on the right side, had symbols of both buried with him.

Boston

Situated above four miles from the left bank of the Mopan river. Four mounds were opened here. No. 1 was thirty feet high, conical in shape, and built almost entirely of blocks of chert, of which there is a great abundance in the neighbourhood. Around the base were placed six oblong, squared stones, each six feet long, three feet broad, and one foot thick, and each buried for five feet of its length. On digging around these stones, a granite rubbing stone, with a limestone rubber, were found, together with five pieces of flint in process of manufacture into spear heads. On excavating in the centre of the mound, at a depth of six feet, portions of a single skeleton were exposed, which had apparently been buried in the prone position. It was simply covered with earth and blocks of chert, nor were there any signs of a cist or chamber having existed

around it. Arranged about the head were the following objects: a small polished conch shell with three perforations, the apex smoothly sawn off, probably for use as a trumpet; a nearly spherical stone, two and a half inches in diameter; a flat, circular stone, one and a half inches in diameter; and lastly, two nearly spherical vessels, six inches in diameter, of rough, unglazed pottery. Mound No. 2 was three feet in height, fifteen feet in diameter, and built entirely of blocks of chert. Although the whole mound was dug away, nothing whatever was found, either within or beneath it, but a few potsherds. Mound No. 3, five feet in height, twenty-five feet in diameter, was also constructed entirely of blocks of chert. At the centre of the mound, near the ground level, fragments of human bone were found, together with two obsidian knives, an imperfect spear head, a small, nearly spherical vessel, of rough, unglazed pottery, and fragments of a vessel which had contained a black carbon-like substance, probably burnt incense. I have never before seen a single mound burial accompanied by so few, and such poor, possessions; even the multiple burials in large flat mounds, and burials in the earth, without mounds at all, are usually accompanied by more numerous and valuable objects than were placed with this individual, who possessed a mound to himself. Mound No. 4, twelve feet high, twenty-five feet in diameter, was built of blocks of chert, with earth and limestone dust. At the bottom of the mound, near its centre, were found fragments of bone representing three human skeletons. The bodies had apparently been buried in the crouching position already described. With the bones was a rough, unglazed pottery vessel, six inches in diameter, and within this were two circular shell discs, a cylindrical pottery bead, and a greenstone ornament shaped like a turtle's back, with a number of small perforations round the edge.

At two places on the surface of the ground at Boston, numbers of chert fragments were found, on removing which great accumulations of chips many square yards in area, and from six to eighteen inches in depth, were brought to light. Amongst these were found spear heads, axe heads, javelin heads, scrapers, knives, and hammer stones in almost every stage of manufacture, from the roughly blocked-out flint to the perfect implement. Many hundreds of rejects were found. Boston, owing to the occurrence of blocks of

chert and flint, of all sizes, and in great profusion, in the neighbourhood, had at one time evidently been the site of a considerable manufactory of implements and weapons. These chips, even when lying exposed upon the surface of the ground, look extremely fresh, and show no signs of weathering. It is probable that most of them are of no great antiquity, as there is a tradition in the neighbourhood, that little more than one hundred years ago, when there were still a considerable number of Indians along the banks of the Mopan river, who used stone weapons and implements, Boston was the principal centre of manufacture in which these articles were produced, and from whence they were exported in considerable quantities to the surrounding Indian tribes.

Corozal. A

A mound, containing multiple burials, was completely excavated not far from Corozal. It was eight feet in height, nearly circular, and forty feet in diameter. It was capped by a layer of reddish brown earth, six inches to one foot in thickness, and beneath this was composed of alternate layers of soft cement, each about one foot thick, and of small limestone rubble, about two feet thick. Scattered over the surface of the mound, just beneath the earth capping, were found a number of fragments of clay idols: the best preserved of these consisted of three human faces, an arm and hand, holding a small bird, a bird's head, an alligator's head, and a pleated cotton breastplate. At depths, varying from two to three feet, six interments were found; in no case was anything left but a few fragments of the skulls and long bones, not, in fact, sufficient to determine the position in which the corpse had been placed at burial. With the bones, in some cases close to them, in others at some little distance, the following objects were found: one rubbing stone (for grinding corn), two pear-shaped flints, nine flint hammer stones, one axe head, one flint scraper, one broken hone of slate, one flint spear head, two fossil shells, two pieces of brick-like pottery, one pottery disc, three small beads, and one shell. On reaching the ground level, of hard compact black earth, it was found that an oblong trench had been cut through it, down to the limestone rock beneath, three feet in breadth, and varying from two to four feet in depth. This trench had been filled up with

small rubble, and in its inner wall, at the north end of the quadrangle, three interments had been made by scooping out small holes in the earth, depositing the remains within them, and filling in with limestone dust and rubble. With one of these burials was found a small three-legged pot, of rough, unpolished pottery; with another, a vessel in the shape of a quadruped, seven inches in length, whose identity is difficult to determine; and with the third, a small saucer-shaped vessel of red ware, and a nearly spherical vessel of dark polished red ware. Within the latter were found a few small animal bones, a few large freshwater snail shells, such as are found at the present day in the neighbouring swamps, and eaten by the Indians, and a few bivalve shells. It seems probable that this vessel contained food, either as an offering to the gods, or for the use of the deceased in his journey to the next world. It is not uncommon to find considerable accumulations of the shells of conchs, cockles, snails, and other edible shell-fish, together with the bones and teeth of deer, tiger, gibunt, snake, and manatee in the mounds of Honduras; but I have never before found a food offering contained within a vessel, as in this case. A number of these large, flat mounds, containing multiple burials, have from time to time been completely dug down near Corozal, in order to obtain stone for the roads. Beneath nearly all of them were found trenches cut through the earth down to the subjacent limestone. These trenches varied from two to five feet in breadth; in the case of the smaller mounds they formed a square or quadrangle; in the larger mounds, two squares or quadrangles were joined by parallel trenches. They were invariably filled with small rubble, and sometimes contained interments in their sides, sometimes not. Their purpose is difficult to surmise, as they could hardly have served as foundations; drainage was unnecessary, and, whilst the trenches themselves were never employed for sepulchral purposes, it is only occasionally that a few burials are found in the earth along their margins.

Corozal. B

Another mound was excavated near Corozal, roughly circular, six feet in height, and thirty feet in diameter. It was covered by a layer of brown earth about one foot thick; beneath this it was con-

structed of limestone blocks, and friable cement, to the ground level. About the centre of the mound, immediately beneath the earth layer, were found two flint hammer stones, together with two bowl-shaped vessels, with holes smashed in their bottoms. These had originally been of fine black polished ware, but were so much weathered that the original colour and polish remained only in a few places. It is quite frequent to find that vessels placed upon, or only superficially buried in, a mound, have had large holes knocked in their bottoms; probably to prevent the possibility of their being stolen, and used again. Nothing further was found in this mound, but on digging down to a depth of two feet in the earth upon which it rested, the limestone rock was exposed, and on this lay a large flat slab of limestone, upon which rested the very fragmentary remains of two human skeletons. With one of these were two vessels; a four-legged red ware bowl, jammed tightly over a small spherical red ware vase, together with a piece of stucco with linear markings upon it. The other skeleton was accompanied by a single red-ware vessel.

Corozal. C

A large flat mound was excavated near Corozal; it was five feet high at the centre, fifteen yards in diameter, and built of earth, blocks of limestone, and limestone dust. No interments have been brought to light in this mound, but scattered throughout it were found thirteen flint hammer stones, a broken flint axe head, eleven small flint scrapers, and a fragment of animal bone which appears to have been employed as an implement of some sort. These objects were found scattered indiscriminately throughout all parts of the mound, from the surface to the base, and from the centre to the periphery. At the base of the mound, near its centre, was found a nicely coloured and polished red bowl-shaped vessel, ten inches in diameter. Nothing was found with it. One frequently finds mounds in this district containing objects which denote a burial, but no trace of bones is to be found. Again, mounds which were, from their size and shape, presumably burial mounds, are found to contain absolutely nothing. It is probable that in both cases the bones have, owing to the age of the mound, or some special

quality in the soil, completely decayed away, leaving no trace behind them.

Another small mound of this kind was dug down near Corozal. It was four feet high, eight yards in diameter, and built entirely of limestone blocks and dust. It contained nothing but numerous potsherds, which were scattered throughout it, and three small flint hammer stones, which were found at the base, near the centre.

Corozal. D

A large, flat mound, not over two feet high, was dug out by men working for the District Board at Corozal. In the marl beneath the mound, at a depth of about two feet below the surface, was found a human skeleton, in a squatting position. The knees were drawn up to the pelvis, the arms folded across the chest, the back bent, and the head pressed down on the folded arms. Unfortunately, the skull, which was the first part of the skeleton to be exposed, was completely broken up by the labourers before I came upon the scene.

Corozal. E

Another small mound, six feet high, and thirty feet in diameter, was dug out near Corozal. It was built of blocks of limestone, limestone dust and earth. Near the surface fragments of two shallow bowls of red pottery were found; together with an almost perfect incensario nearly two feet in height, with a human figure, considerably broken, attached to its outer surface. At the ground level, near the centre, human bones, with a small yellowish pot, were found, together with some rude beads, hammer stones, and spear heads, and a nearly spherical pot of dark red ware.

Benque Viejo. A

Near this village is a large mound forty feet in height, and close to the base of this, several pieces of rough pottery were noticed sticking out of the ground. On digging over an area of perhaps forty feet square, great numbers of fragments of clay idols, similar to those already described as having been found at Saltillo were unearthed. They were buried in black earth, at all depths, from the surface to three feet beneath it. A few large blocks of limestone were also found, upon which it is possible that the

incensarios were broken up, before their fragments were scattered broadcast over the soil. At a depth of three feet, a small, roughly constructed stone cist, eighteen inches square, was brought to light, filled with rubble and earth. At the bottom of this lay a few fragments of human bone, so friable, however, that it was found impossible to preserve the skull. This must have been a secondary burial, as the cist was so small that it would have been impossible to have squeezed the body of an adult human being into it. Mingled with the bones were three small unpainted pots. One of these was in the shape of a double-headed animal; one head that of an alligator with distended jaws, in the act of swallowing a human face; the other head, situated at the opposite extremity of the animal, looked at in one direction resembles a bird, but if turned upside down, it represents the face and upper jaw, provided with a single row of formidable teeth, of some unknown animal. This pot contained thirteen small red and green beads, perforated, and nicely polished. The second pot was decorated on its outer surface with a human face, the third was undecorated, and stood upon three legs. None of these pots contained anything. I have on several occasions found small vessels in the shape of an animal in the act of swallowing a human head; sometimes the head only, sometimes the arms and upper part of the body, projecting from the monster's widely distended jaws. These vessels always contain a few beads, and have been generally associated with fragments of incensarios, and human bones. This symbol, both amongst the Aztecs and Toltecs, represented either the earth, or the under-world. Employed to decorate a mortuary vase, it may have the latter significance.* The animal represented is not always the same; it may be an alligator, a shark, a giant turtle, a tiger, or some mythological beast; but it is invariably a rapacious and destructive animal of some kind.

Benque Viejo. B

Near this village a small mound, four feet high was dug down. Near the centre, within a few inches of the surface, a small clay cylinder, with an incised geometrical device covering it, was found.

*Or may represent the individual being swallowed by the earth, and so symbolise death, as it frequently does in the Mexican codices.

This had probably been used as a stamp or seal, as larger cylinders which were used for this purpose are not uncommon in the mounds of Honduras and Guatemala. Nothing further was found in the mound.

Patchacan

A mound was dug out near this village, six feet high, and twenty-five feet in diameter, built of blocks of limestone, and limestone dust. Near the centre of the mound, resting on the ground level, remains of two interments were found, represented by a few pieces of the long bones. With one of these was a shallow, bowl-shaped vessel of red ware, and with the other a similar, but somewhat larger vessel, together with six small, and one large roughly spherical stones. As has before been pointed out, nests of a single large, and a number of small, more or less spherical stones are frequently encountered in these mounds, and were probably used in some game.

Sarteneja

Situated on the coast about sixteen miles from Corozal. This seems at one time to have been the site of a considerable pottery manufactory, as small mounds, composed of nothing but potsherds, are found along the beach. The sea, which is gradually encroaching, also washes out great numbers of potsherds, together with an occasional entire vessel. A small, circular vessel of red ware, with handles on the rim, together with a red ware bowl, were washed out in this way. A little further inland, I dug out a mound composed of nothing but a great accumulation of conch shells, and containing nothing beyond a few fragments of pottery.

San Estevan

At San Estevan, on the New River, three mounds were explored. One of these was twenty-five feet in height, the other two, twelve feet and eight feet respectively. All were built of blocks of limestone firmly held together with limestone dust, forming a sort of cement. In the centre of the largest mound an excavation eighteen feet deep was made; the other two mounds were dug out down to the base. Nothing whatever was found in any of these mounds,

with the exception of numerous potsherds, for the most part rough and unpainted, which were scattered throughout them in great profusion.

Consejo

A small mound, three feet high by fifteen feet in diameter, was dug down near this village. It was composed of brown earth, with innumerable pieces of rough unpainted pottery, fragments, apparently, of rude, thick-walled vessels of large size. Amongst these, indicating that at least one image-bearing incensario had been smashed with the other vessels, were found a good sized alligator's head, with a human face between the widely opened jaws, portions of two human faces, and several arms and legs, all of rough, unpainted pottery.

Chetumal Bay

In a small mound, near the island of Tamalcal, some Indians, cutting bush to make a corn plantation, came across a small mound, in which they made a shallow excavation. About two feet from the surface, a rubbing stone, for grinding corn, made of Esquipulas stone, was found. It was shaped like an animal, standing upon three legs; the back of the animal being used as the grinding surface.

Miscellaneous Finds

Five small axe heads were found near the surface at Starm Creek whilst constructing the railway.

A stone idol, probably connected with phallic worship, was found by an Indian near Morales. This object was worshipped for some time by the owner, as a 'Santo,' and traces of wax may still be seen upon it from the candles burnt in its honour. Finding that it was an unlucky 'Santo,' he was easily persuaded to part with it.

A pot-leg was washed out by the sea in the island of Ruatan.

A large flint was found on the beach at Payo Obispo, Quintana Roo, Mexico.

A HITTITE BRONZE STATUETTE

By JOSEPH OFFORD

In Plate XX is given a photograph of a bronze statuette that was brought into Cairo for sale last December, by a fellah who could not be credited as to his statements as to where it was really found. It probably, however, came from the Delta. It was purchased by M. Nahmann, the Cairo Collector, and the photograph is published by his permission.

The statuette is, in my opinion, the first specimen of such work by a Hittite artist, and if this view is correct it will be an important specimen in respect of its peculiar type and the characteristics of the figure.

The position in which the female deity is placed, erect, upon a lion or panther, is similar to that of many Hittite reliefs and to the small bronze from Killiz, figured in Prof. Garstang's *The Land of the Hittites*, Pl. XL. A relief showing a god standing upon a bull is figured in the same work, Pl. XLIV, but the nearest approach to the style of this new statuette is in the famous rock relief at Boghaz Keui, carved within the large recess at Iasily Kaya, and actually representing a female upon the back of a panther (*ibid.*, Pl. LXV). The head-dress or tiara in the Boghaz Keui figure is somewhat different, but the animal appears to be identical. A deity standing erect upon the back of an animal is a common *motif* upon Hittite cylinders, as shown by two such figures in Ward's *The Cylinders and other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, Pl. XXXI, 237, and Pl. XXXII, 243. In the first the animal is a bull, in the second probably a lion.

The chief interest, however, in this new Hittite statuette arises from its apparent affinities with Hindoo figures, which is important in the light of Dr. Winckler's discovery of the names of several Vedic divinities* among the cuneiform-written Hittite records from Boghaz Keui. The type of this bronze, especially the width of the

*[Among the Mitanni. J. G.]

bust, the position of the right arm, and the anklets, are all reminders of Hindoo work.

In connection with this supposed relation between Hittite and Hindoo art, I may further instance an especially finely preserved Hittite cylinder in Mr. Pierpont Morgan's collection, Pl. XXXI, 235. This shows a kneeling female deity of even more pronouncedly Hindoo type. Moreover, the frequent delineation upon Hittite cylinders of the zebu or humped race of cattle† appears also to connect some of the Hittite tribes with the Old Aryan Vedic peoples.

†See, further, on these humped cattle, Père S. Ronzevalle, *Le Boeuf Bossu en Syrie* in the *Melanges de la Faculté Orientale* of the Université Saint Joseph, Beyrouth. M. Ronzevalle publishes, in Pl. VIII, photographs of an ancient bronze statuette which, he says, must have once supported a figure of a divinity in Assyrian or Hittite style, because upon its back are moulded two sockets to receive the feet of the figure. The type of this bronze is like a humped bull shown upon a Syrian or Hittite cylinder in the *Collection de Clercq*, Pl. XXXII, No. 368. Also see *Journal Asiatique*, 1909, p. 161.

HITTITE ARCHIVES FROM BOGHAZ KEUI

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Translated from the German transcripts of Dr. Winckler in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (No. 35, Dec., 1907)

By META E. WILLIAMS

Extract XI, p. 32

Treaty between Subbiluliuma and Mattiuaza, King of Mitani

'When the Sun, Subbiluliuma, the Great King, the Noble, the King of the Khatti, the beloved of Tessub, and Artatama, King of the Kharri, had made a treaty between them, Tushratta, King of Mitani, exalted himself against the Great King, the King of the Khatti, the Noble; and the Great King, etc., rose up against Tushratta, King of Mitani, and plundered the left bank of the Euphrates, and added the mountain of Niblani to mine inheritance. Then for the second time Tushratta defied me, and said thus:—"Why hast thou plundered the left bank of the Euphrates, which belongs to Tushratta, King of Mitani? If thou dost plunder the lands on the left bank of the Euphrates, then will I plunder those on the right bank of the Euphrates. If thou dost plunder it, what shall I do in return? I will even cross over, and take the right bank of the Euphrates for myself, whether (it be land) belonging to mine own kingdom (or not)."

'But the Great King, etc., bade him defiance, in return. (For in the time of the father of the King of the Khatti, the land of Isuwa revolted; and people from Khatti withdrew into the land of Isuwa.) (The reason of this was, that) the people of the city (here follows a list of those concerned) had revolted in the time of my father; but the Sun, Subbiluliuma, etc., had conquered them. So, at that time, these people who had escaped my hand, went into Isuwa. All these people and lands had revolted, in the time of my father; and as from Isuwa, settled in the enemy's land (abroad). And the Sun, Subbiluliuma, marched out; in answer to King Tushratta's challenge I crossed the Euphrates; I marched against Isuwa, and punished the whole of Isuwa. I brought them into subjection to me for the second time. All the people and petty states, which in the time of my father went over to Isuwa (here follows a list) I punished; and brought them back to Khatti

(conquered them). The (country people of the) lands I conquered, I released; in their own places they remained to dwell. But the (city) folk whom I released went to their own people; and the Khatti entered into their possessions.'

Extract XII, p. 33

Mitani Treaty between Subbiluliuma and Mattiuaza

'Then the Sun, Subbiluliuma, etc., I marched to the Land of Alsha. I took the citadel of the city of Sutmar, and I gave it to Antaratli, from the Land of Alsha for a present. But Tushratta marched out against me; it did not come to a battle.'

Extract XIII, p. 34

Mitani Treaty between Subbiluliuma and Mattiuaza

'I made a circuit (I crossed) the Euphrates; the Land of Khalpa (Aleppo) and the Land of Mu-?-Khi, I punished. Takuwa, King of Nî, made a treaty with his brother A-bu-(!)-Tessub against (me). The Land and City of Nî, thereupon, revolted against Takuwa, and A-ki-(!)-Tessub, his brother. But (I, Subbiluliuma) overthrew that (people) I made them subject to Akia, the King of Arakhti. The City of Arakhti strengthened itself and revolted:— "Against Subbiluliuma will we fight." The Great King, etc., conquered Arakhti; Akia, King of Arakhti, Aki-Tessub, the brother of Takuwa, and that (people), together with all their belongings, he took prisoners, and brought them to Khatti. The City of Katna, with all its territory, and its possessions, he made subject to Khatti.'

Extract XV, p. 35

Temp. Subbiluliuma

'When I marched against Nukhasse, I took all the lands (of the several districts). Sarrupsi (the king) absconded. His mother, brother, and sons, I took; and brought to Khatti I set the servant of Sarrupsi over the city of as king, and marched into the district of Abina. I did not think to seize upon Kinza, but Sutatarra, together with Aitakama, his son, his nobles, and his brothers to Khatti. I marched against Abina. . . . Because of the insubordination of King Tushratta, I plundered all those lands in one year, and made them subject to Khatti. From the mountain of Niblani, from (the bank) of the Euphrates, I have added them to my territory.'

Extract XVI, p. 36

Treaty between Subbiluliuma and Mattiuaza of Mitani

'When his son had conspired with his servants and slain his father, Tushratta, and Tushratta was dead, Tessub gave judgment in favour of Artatama, and granted life to his son Artatama. And the Land of Mitani went to utter ruin. The Assyrians and Alshians divided it between them. But the Great King, etc., did not then cross over the bank of the Euphrates, nor exact tribute and taxes from the Land of Mitani. When the Great King heard of the impoverishment of the Land of Mitani, he sent thither palace-people (royal officials) with cattle, and sheep, and horses, for the Kharri folk were in a miserable state. Sutatarra and his nobles tried to put Mattiuaza, the King's son, to death. But he fled and came to the Sun, Subbiluliuma. The Great King said: "Tessub has given judgment in favour of Mattiuaza, the son of Tushratta, in that I take him by the hand (help him) and set him upon his throne. So that the great land (great power) of Mitani may not go to ruin, the Great King, etc., has restored the Land of Mitani to life, because of his daughter; and I have given my daughter to Mattiuaza, the son of Tushratta, to wife, and taken him by the hand."'

Extract XVII, p. 36

Mitani Treaty between Mattiuaza and Subbiluliuma

'While Sutarna (!), the son of Artatama, bore rule in Mitani, his father did not deal well with the land. He squandered all his treasure, and gave it away in presents to Assyria and Alshe. Tushratta had built a palace and furnished it splendidly. All the treasures that were in it he sent to the Assyrians, who had been his father's vassals. Sa-us-sa-tar, the great-great-grandfather (p. 37) of Mattiuaza, had carried off a door of gold and silver from Assyria, and set it up in the palace in the city of Waraganni. But Sutarna gave it back to Assyria; and all the gold and silver besides, to Alshe; and wasted all the property of the kings of Mitani. He also plundered the houses (estates) of the Kharri people, and sent everything off to Assyria and Alshe. But Abu-Tessub fled from him to Karduniash (Babylon), and 200 chariots with him. The King of Karduniash took the 200 chariots and their charioteers, which Abu-Tessub brought over (?) with him, for himself. But Abu-Tessub, along with his nobles, he ed (uštimḫir). He

sought his life, even with intent to kill Mattiuaza, the son of Tushratta, and ed me. I escaped his hand. To the gods of the Sun, Subbiluliuma, I fled, and they preserved me on my way. The gods of Khatti and Mitani granted that I should reach the Sun, Subbiluliuma.'

Extract XXIV, p. 51

Mitani Treaty between Subbiluliuma and Mattiuaza

List of Deities:

'ilâni Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il ilâni u-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-il.'

Variant: 'a-ru-na-aš-ši-il'

'ilu (!) in-dar ilâni na-ša-a(t-ti-ia-a)n-na'

Variant: 'in-da-ra na-š(a)-at-ti-ia-an-na.'

Extract XIV, p. 34

Temp. Subbiluliuma

Letter of the King, Akizza of Kinza, to Amenophis III

'Aitakama hath even now written to me, saying: "Go over with me to the King of Khatti." But I have answered: "Though I should die, I will not go over to the King of Khatti. I will be true to the King of Egypt." Thus did I write concerning the King of Khatti.'

'As I am devoted to the King; so are also the King of Nukhasse, the King of Ni, the King of Kinzar, and the King of Tuanat.'

'Arsawia, Prince of Rukhsi, and Tauwatti, Prince of Lapawa, are joined with Aitakama, Prince of Kinza, and they hold with (the King of Khatti).'

Extracts XVIII, p. 46

(a) Fragment of a letter, perhaps addressed to an Assyrian by Subbiluliuma

'Adad-nirari, thy Lord.'

(b) Fragment of a letter, possibly dealing with Assyrian affairs,

'to Ba-ba-hach-iddin; Thy lord is dead.'

Extract I, p. 19

Temp. Mursil

'Thereupon I marshed (?) against Mira; and I gave Mira to Barhu-iluwa; the Land of Amashêhaku I gave to Ma-na-pa-Tessub; the Land of Hapallama I gave to Tar-ga-aš-na-al-li.'*

* nam-na- I-NA MÂT ALU mi-ra-a (thus! also elsewhere!) pa-a-un nu MÂT ALU mi-ra-a a-na I bar-hu-Itu (zu?)-wa AD-DIN MATU a-ma-se-e-ha-ku A-NA I ma-na-pa-tesub AD-DIN—MATU hal-pa-la-ma A-NA I tar-ga-as-na-al-li AD-DIN.

Extract XXI, p. 44

Amorite Treaty between Mursil of Khatti and Abi-Teshub of Amurri

'Aziri, thy grandfather, oh, Abi-Teshub, revolted against my father. My father reduced him to submission. When the kings of Nukhasse and Kinza rose against my father, thy grandfather did not revolt. When my father went to war with his enemies, thy grandfather, Aziri, also went to war with my father's enemies. He guarded A-la-ra-na-du; he did not displease my father. And my father protected Aziri and his land; no evil came upon Aziri and his land. Three hundred (shekels) of gold my father imposed upon thy grandfather, as a gift and tribute. He paid them every year; he never withheld them; never displeased my father. When my father died, I ascended the throne of my father. As thy grandfather, Aziri, dealt with my father, so did he deal with me. When the kings of Nukhasse and Kinza revolted again against me, thy grandfather, Aziri, and thy father, Du-tessub, did not join them.'

Extract III, p. 22

Letter of Hattusil II to Katashman-buriash, son and successor of Katashman-turgu, King of Babylon

(I and thy father), 'made a marriage alliance, becoming brother-in-law, and were true brothers when thy father died, I wept for him as a true brother and I sent my ambassadors to the great ones of Karduniash, with this writing: "If ye do not acknowledge the son of my brother as king I will be your enemy, and I will conquer Karduniash. Contrariwise, should an enemy attack you, or commit any depredation upon you; tell me; and I will come to your aid." But, my Brother, that letter was not laid before thee, at that time (and lest that letter should now be read before thee, I have written down these words, being a repetition of what was said before). For Itti-Marduk-balatu (the then ambassador, or a minister of the court of Babylon) may the gods deprive him of breath while he lives, so that the evil words in his mouth may not come to pass; he hath grieved me much with that which he hath written (in that he wrote) to me, saying: "Thou dost not write like a brother, but layest thy commands on us as if we were thy vassals."

'Wherefore, I replied to my brother: "How should I command you as my vassals? The people of Karduniash cannot coerce the

people of Khatti; nor they them. It was with friendly intent I wrote those words to them, in order that they might recognise the posterity of my brother, Katashman-turgu. And that was how Itti-Marduk-balatu answered me. What masterful language had I used to him that Itti-Marduk-balatu should so answer me? I only wrote him saying: 'If ye do not acknowledge the son of your lord, then, should an enemy attack you, I will not come to your help.' But I did not take the answer of Itti-Marduk-balatu to heart. For my brother was yet a child; and he is a bad man who acts according to his own mind. So why should I take it in bad part?"

'And now, my brother complains that I have discontinued sending my letters and ambassadors. I have only done so on account of danger from the Beduin (Ki-akhlamu nakur, Aramaic Beduin danger). But out of every trifle, Itti-Marduk-balatu makes trouble with my brother. . . .'

Extract IV, p. 26

Temp. Hattusil

'which concerns, that my brother has written to me (that is to say, asked me) about the embassy from the King of Egypt; (as regards the embassy of the King) of Egypt, I will inform my brother in these words; (the King of Egypt) and I have made a marriage alliance, becoming brothers-in-law; and have made ourselves brethren, and have made this agreement together: "Brothers we are; and therefore we will (fight against) a common foe, (and with a) friend we will have friendship in common." And as the King of Egypt (formerly) invaded (Khatti) as I wrote to your father Katashman-turgu' and so on.

Extract VI, p. 26

Temp. Hattusil

' I have heard that my brother has come to man's estate, and is fond of hunting.* (And I was exceedingly glad) that Tessub prospers (?) the successor of my brother Katashman-turgu. (That being so, I counsel thee:) "go and plunder the land of the enemy." If I hear (that my brother) has slain the enemy, then shall I say of my brother: "Behold a king who knows how to wield weapons (?) My brother do not delay to march against the land of the enemy; smite the foe march against that land, for thou art three, nay four times, a match for it."'

* The heroic employment of kings.

Extract V, p. 24

Temp. Hattusil II

Letter to Katashman-buriash, King of Babylon

'Furthermore, I would inform my brother, that concerning Banti-shinni, about whom my brother writes: "He troubles the land," I have asked Banti-shinni, and he has answered me: "I had a claim for 30 talents of silver, against the inhabitants of Akhad." But now that Banti-shinni has become my vassal, my brother can bring an indictment against him for disturbing the land of my brother; and he shall answer for it in the presence of thy ambassador, Adad-shar-ilan, and before the gods (i.e., in a court of law). And if my brother will not conduct the suit himself, then let thy servant (official or vassal) who has heard that Banti-shinni has molested the land of my brother, come and conduct the suit. I will bring Banti-shinni there, to answer for himself. He is my (vassal). If he wrongs my brother, does he not also injure me?'

Extract II, p. 19

Temp. Hattusil

'My father, Mursil, had four children, Hal-pa-as-su-lu-bi-i(a), Mutallu, Hattu-sili(s), and his daughter Ilani-ir-in-na. When my father, Mursilis, was dead, my brother, Muttallis, ascended the throne of his father. But (?) against my brother, the general of the army'*

Extract XX, p. 43

Treaty between Hattusil II and Amurri

'In the time of my (Hattusil's) grandfather, Aziri, King (of Amurri) fell away (?) from Egypt, and (cast himself) at the feet of my grandfather, Subbiluliuma. My grandfather bestowed his (favour) upon him. He made a treaty with him, and wrote down the boundaries of Amurri, as they had been in the time of his father, and gave them to him.

'When my grandfather, Subbiluliuma, was dead, my father, Mursil, son of Subbiluliuma, ascended the throne. Te-Tessub made

* 'mah-an-na-za A-BU-IA I mur-ši-li-iš il-li-iš ki-ša-at, AḪI-IA ma-za-gan I muttalli-iš A-NA KUSSI A-BI-ŠU e-ša-at am-mu-uk-ku-za A-NA PA-NI AḪI-IA BÊL Ki-Rib-Bat (KARAŠI) ki-iš-ha-ha-at nu-mu AḪI-IA A-NA Rab Me Se ti ut ti ti-it-ta-nu-ut MÂT ALI ÊLI-TI ia-mu ma(ku ?)-ni-ia ab-ha-an-ni bi-es-ia nu MÂT ALI ÊLI-TA niš-ta-bar-ha ti-ra-an ma-at-mu I ILU SIN-(IBU) tešub-aš mar I zi-da-a ma (ku ?)-ni-ia-ab-hi-es ki-it nu-mu ilu istar BÊLTI-IA ku-it ka-ni-eš-ša-an har (mur)-ta AḪI-IA is-mu I muttali-is a-as-su-uh-ta nu-mu-kan mah-an NIŠI-an-na-za, etc.'

himself king in Amurri. But the treaty which my grandfather had made with Aziri, the treaty of my grandfather, that they held to.

'After my father; Muttalu made himself king. Muttalu, my brother, (after him), Abbi-Tessub died, and Put-Akhi made himself king of Amurri. Muttali (!), my brother, deposed Put-Akhi, and brought him into the Land of Khatti. Then I begged Put-Akhi from my brother, and brought him into the city of Haggamissa. I made him a house. No ill befell him. I had him in my care and custody.

'When Muttalu, the Great King, was dead, I, Hattusil, ascended the throne of my father. I set Put-Akhi over Amurri again, and restored him to his father's inheritance, and royal throne. A marriage alliance with one another concluded. My son, Nerigga-Shama, took the daughter of Put-Akhi, of Amurri, ... to wife; (and I gave) the King's daughter, Gashuliawi, to Put-Akhi, in the royal palace in Amurri, (to) wife. (In) Amurri, she shall remain as queen. The sovereignty over Amurri shall belong to the son and grandson of my daughter in time to come.'

Extract VII, p. 27
Temp. Dudhalia

[Note.—Reference to Pudu-khipa as co-regent with Dudhalia.]

'(um ma) ta ba-ar-na I du-ud-ha-li-ia ŠARRW-RABÛ ŠAR MAT (ALU ḪATTI)
— — su sa I su -ub-li-hu-li-um-ma sarru rabu ŠAR MÂT ALU ḫatti
ZÊRU Š(A ḫa-at-tu-si-li šar alu ku-uš šar)
— — ameltu Pu-du-hi-pa ŠARRATU RABÎTU ŠARRAT MÂT ALU ḫatti.'

Extract VIII, p. 28
Temp. Dudhalia

'This tablet is (written) by Nerikka-Šamši, the King's son, and (.)-officers, by , the King of Tešub-tašša, Ini-Tešub, King of Kargamis , Up-pa-ra-a-a, son of the King of PA. AMELU. MES- is ḪURASU of N.N. . . . UR. MAḪ AMELU-is RAB DUPSARRÛTI Kam(?)-ma-li-ia dup-sar Ši-pa AMELU dupsar A-nu-wa-ILU (an?)-za dup-sar of the city of Nerig'*

* Compare the name of the King of Hamath under Tiglath-Pilezer III.

Extract XXII, p. 44

Amorite Treaty between Dudhalia and Shabilis, or Edict of Dudhalia concerning Amurri

'When Mutallu, the brother of the father of the Sun (that is to say, Dudhalia), was king, the people of Amurri they were vassals of the King of Egypt the brother of the father of the Sun, Mutallu, and the King of Egypt the people of Amurri Mutallu and he set up Sha-bi-lin (accusative) as King in Amurri.'

Extract XXIII, p. 45

Amorite Treaty between Dudhalia and Shabilis, or Edict of Dudhalia concerning Amurri

'When Mutallu, the brother of the father of the Sun, was dead, then the father of the Sun, Hattusil, became king. And he deposed Shabilis, and made thy father, Banti-shinni, king in Amurri.'

Extract IX, p. 29

Temp. Arnuanta

Fragment of an Edict with the name of Arnuanta, and that of his mother, the latter obliterated

'(. . . .) Ar-nu-an-ta sarru rabû u name of the queen.'

Extract X, p. 29

Document of Arnuanta found on the gateway of the inner wall

'(Se)al of the Edict (tabarna) of Arnuanta, the Great King, son of Du-u(d-ha-li).'

'(S)eal of the Lady Ta -wa-ash-shi-?, Lady Mu-ni-Dan, Great Queen, ... ? daughter of Du-ud-ha-li-i(a).'

Extract XIX, p. 41

Temp. ? Fragment of a letter concerning Cyprus

'. . . . eru Ud. Ka. Bar alu(?) a-lă-ši-ia-šum Har Sag. Tag-ga-ta-sum.'

'. . . . copper from Alashia from the mountain of Taggata.'

THE INSCRIBED TOMBS OF EKHMÎM

By Professor PERCY E. NEWBERRY

Ekhmîm,* the city of the 'Thunderbolt†'-deity Min, is situated on the right bank of the Nile, about 310 miles south of Cairo. It was the capital of the fertile province of Min, and is one of the oldest towns of Egypt. Here, and in the immediate neighbourhood, Mr. Hugh Whitaker and I spent the greater part of January and February of the present year. From El Ahaîweh‡ opposite El Menshîyeh on the south, to El Sawâmhi on the north, we explored the desert-edge and hills, but the whole district proved to have been thoroughly exhausted by the natives. To the east of El Hawâwîsh, however, and at the southern end of the limestone hills, we discovered twenty-eight inscribed tombs§ of the Sixth to Twelfth Dynasties, and one untouched burial with three painted wood coffins of the Old Kingdom.

These inscribed tombs are of considerable historic importance; they appear to cover the whole period from the close of the Sixth Dynasty to the end of the first quarter of the Twelfth Dynasty. Among them are five tombs of Great Chieftains of the Ekhmîm nome¶ (Nos. 12, 24, 25, 26 and 27; one is of a Vezier, General, and

* The *Khenti-min* (secular name, *Apw*) of the Ancient Egyptians; the *Shmin* of the Copts.

† In a paper that I published in the *Annals of Archaeology*, Vol. III, pp. 50-52, I suggested that the cult-object of Min consisted of a pair of fossil Cephalopoda, and a remarkable corroboration of this theory is the fact that the limestone hills at the back of Ekhmîm are full of these fossils. When I wrote the paper in 1909 I was not then aware of this fact. Amon, as is now recognised, was another form of Min: his sacred animal was the ram of the Barbary Sheep (*Ovis lervia*) with curved horns. Another kind of fossil Cephalopoda (Ammonites) was known in the 1st Century, A.D., as the Hammonis cornu and was reckoned among the most sacred stones of Ethiopia (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XXXVIII, 60).

‡ We were told by the natives that several hundred Arabs had been robbing this cemetery up to a few days of our arrival there. An important 'find' of Eighteenth Dynasty glass vases had been made early in the winter, and I traced to this locality a number of objects in dealers' hands, which dated from the period between the Old and Middle Kingdoms. I was fortunate in securing from the natives and dealers a collection of some twenty-five 'button'-shaped seals which came from this site.

§ A brief note in which three of these tombs are mentioned, has been printed by Schiaparelli (*Chemmis-Achmîm e la sua antica Necropoli* in the *Études Archéologiques, historiques et linguistiques, dédiées à Dr. C. Leemans*, pp. 85-88): Bouriant also refers to this necropolis in *Rec. des travaux*, XI, 142: Mariette has noted the inscription on the lintel of Tomb No. 3 in his *Mons. Divers*, XXI b and p. 6.

¶ Another Great Chieftain of the Min nome is mentioned on a stela in the Cairo Museum (*Cat.* 20024). His name was Antef, born of Buta.

Governor of the Pyramid City (No. 7 *cp.* No. 19); three are of Governors of the New Towns* (Nos. 19, 20 and 21); and six are of Superintendents of the distribution of field-workers (Nos. 2, 5, 13, 15, 19 and 23). The series of priestly titles that occur throw much light on the cult of the local deity. The ordinary priests were *ḫenu neter Min*, with *se-ḫez* 'instructors'; higher grades were the *Min smā*† and the *Min ât*, while the High Priest was apparently the *Min khet*‡. The High Priestess was the *Min ḥemt*, and there was also a class of priestesses named *Min ursht*, 'watchers.'

Of the personal names occurring in these tombs several are compounded with the name 'Min,' and are, therefore, probably of local origin:—Min-ankh (No. 23), Min-ba-ef (Coffin No. 1), Min-em-re-s (Coffin No. 3), Min-en-ankh (No. 22), Min-neb-ankh (No. 22), Min-neferes (No. 22), Min-ren (No. 22), Min-duat (No. 21), Sa-Min (No. 19), and Sekhat-Min§ (No. 4), Herui (Nos. 7, 13, 14, 19, and Coffin No. 1) also appears to be local.

The series of names and titles found in these inscribed tombs may be supplemented by the inscriptions on some Old and Middle Kingdom coffins in the Cairo Museum, which have been published by Lacau¶, and are known to have come from the Ekhmîm district. Several of these Cairo coffins must, indeed, have been found at El Hawâwîsh.

Nos. 28001 and 28004 must have come from Tombs No. 17 and 24 respectively, while Nos. 28002, 28012, and 28018 were probably found in Tombs No. 18, 12 and 5.

* This title occurs at Tehneh (*Annales du Service*, III, 127), and at Sheikh Said (Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pls. IV, VI, IX, XIX); *cf.* also my *Beni Hasan*, I, p. 60, n. 2.

† Schaefer's reading of this title (Sethe's *Untersuchungen*, IV, 63) is supported by the writing in Tomb No. 3.

‡ On these *khet*-priests, see my papers in the *Annals of Archaeology*, I, p. 27; II. p. 49; and III, p. 50.

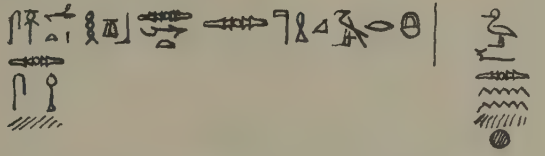
§ *Cp.* the name *Sekhat-sen* (?) in Davies' *Dêr el Gebrâwi*, I, pl. XXIII, p. 26.

¶ Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire*, in the *Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.*

1. Tomb of the 

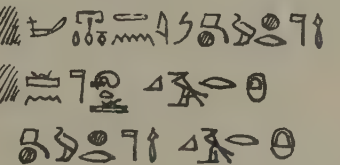
Small rectangular chamber with three slanting pits in floor. Drum lintel. Painting badly preserved but of good quality.

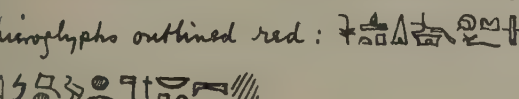
On the left-hand wall is (1) a scene showing officers bringing up offerings of cattle to Qar, his wife and their son, who are represented standing:-



In the centre of the wall is a sculptured false-door painted to represent red granite. On the left-jamb is preserved:-



On the right-hand side of the wall is a figure of Qar seated:- 

On the inner wall is an inscription along the frieze in hieroglyphs outlined red: 

Below this frieze inscription is a figure of Qar standing

clad in the robe of the High Priest of Min with two men standing facing him :-

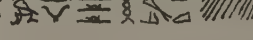
(1) (2) (3) (4)

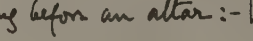


(2) Tomb of .

Rectangular chamber, 4½ m. × 4 m., with projecting pilaster in centre of inner wall. Large sloping pit in middle of floor. Drum lintel. On the inner face of outside wall to left of entrance are the remains of a scene of beer-making and flax threshing.

On the left-hand wall is (1) a scene of cattle inspecting: Qaḥesa is here clad in his High Priestly robes, and (2) a scene showing Qaḥesa seated before an altar :-

.

On the inner wall is painted a false-door with Qaḥesa standing before an altar :- 

Following this is another portrait of Qaḥesa in his priestly robes :- [illegible]. On the right-hand wall are traces of a painted scene of boats.

(3) Tomb of the [illegible] (name destroyed).

Large rectangular tomb with well cut inscription over lintel of doorway. No traces of paintings or inscriptions inside. The inscription on the lintel reads :-

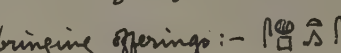
(1) [illegible] (2) [illegible]

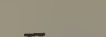
(4). Tomb of the [illegible]

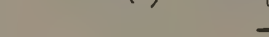
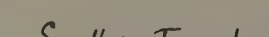
Small rectangular chamber with drum lintel to doorway and sloping mummy pit in floor. Remains of painting on inner wall.

On the left-hand side of inner wall are remains of a painted false door with inscriptions on left jamb alone preserved :- (1) [illegible]

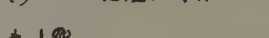
(2) [illegible]

To the right of this false door is a procession of people bringing offerings :- . Among the people is a woman .

(5) Tomb of the 

Small rectangular chamber with drum lintel and sloping pit. Fragments of painted inscriptions on inner wall. Owner:- . Wife:- . Son:- 

(6) Tomb of .

Small rectangular chamber with pillar in centre, and two sloping pits in floor. On the left-hand wall are the remains of a scene of animals in the desert with legend: (1)  (2)  (3) 

(7). Tomb of the [illegible].

Two small rectangular chambers with portico of five square pillars tapering upwards. The two northernmost pillars are inscribed with incised hieroglyphs.

On the outer face of the left-hand pillar is a figure of the rejîr standing with a man offering a joint before him :— (1) [illegible] (2) [illegible] (3) [illegible].

On the right hand face of the same column are incised figures of the rejîr & a woman facing one another :— (1) [illegible] (2) [illegible] (3) [illegible].

On the outer face of the next column of the portico is incised a figure of the rejîr with cbors :- [illegible]

(8.) Tomb of the [illegible].

Small rectangular chamber with plain doorway and incised inscription :-

[illegible].

(9.) Tomb of the

Small rectangular tomb, with two sloping pits at bottom of left and inner walls. Drum lintel. Painting on reddish plaster, good in style but much mutilated. Fringe of coloured rectangles.

On the inner face of the outer wall to left of entrance is a standing figure of Aḥ :-

In front of this figure are five vertical lines of hieroglyphs reading :-

(1)

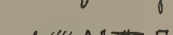
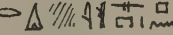
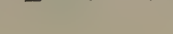
(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

On the left-hand wall is a figure of Aḥ seated in

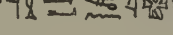
front of a table of offerings: on the other side of the table stands his son who offers the haunch of an ox: above him are four vertical lines of hieroglyphs :- (1)  (2)  (3)  (4) .

To the right is a list of offerings with the offerings figured.

On the inner wall is a painted false door with only the name and title  preserved upon it.

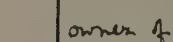
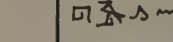
(10) Tomb of the 

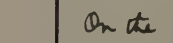
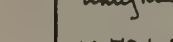
Small rectangular chamber with two pillars; drum lintel; and one sloping pit. Fragmentary painted inscriptions give only the name and titles of the owner :- 

(11) Tomb of the 

Small rectangular tomb with sloping passage to sarcophagus chamber. Drum lintel. Painting of medium quality badly preserved.

On the left-hand side of left wall is (1) a procession of servants bearing offerings, then (2) a seated figure of the

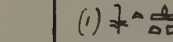
owner of the tomb with inscription :- (1)  (2)  (3)  (4) 

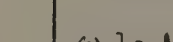
On the inner wall to the left is a painted false-door, then a standing figure of the owner of the tomb with his wife & daughter:- (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)  (5) 

(12) Tomb of the .

Small rectangular two-pillared chamber with two slanting pits in floor. Drum lintel. Inscriptions painted on reddish-brown plaster, poor in style and hacked out in places.

On the architrave to pillars are two inscriptions :-

(1) 

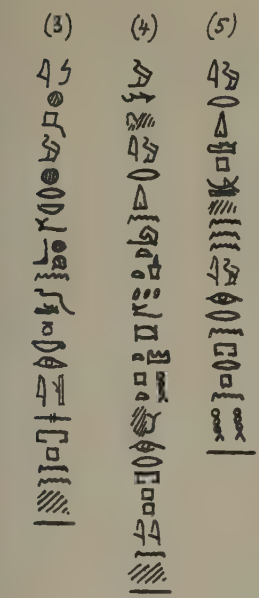
(2) 

On the left-hand pillar are two horizontal and three vertical lines of hieroglyphs :-

(1) 

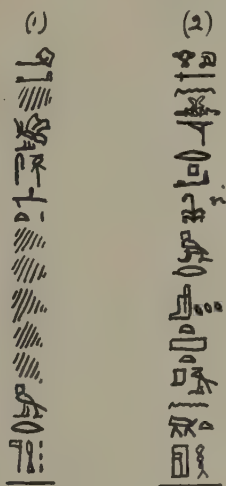
(2) 

(3) (4) (5)



On the right-hand pillar are two vertical lines of hieroglyphs:-

(1) (2)

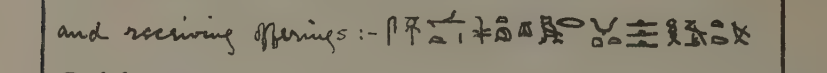


(13) Tomb of the

Small rectangular chamber with shrine in inner wall. Drum lintels over doorway and entrance to shrine. One large vertical pit on right of main chamber and one sloping pit on left. False-door with sculptured table of offerings on left wall of shrine. Painting, poor and much destroyed. On left-hand wall is a scene of inspection of cattle:-(1)

(2)

On the left inner wall is a standing figure of Herui as High Priest of Min.

On the right inner wall is a figure of Hersi standing and receiving offerings :- .

On the right wall are remains of agricultural scenes.

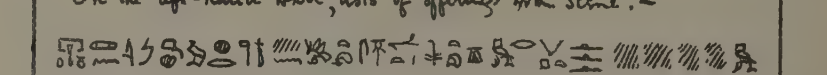
(14) Tomb of the .

Rectangular chamber with one slanting pit. Fragments of painted inscription on left wall from which only the following title, and names can be deciphered :-

(1)  (2) 

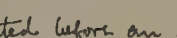
(15). Tomb of the .

Small rectangular chamber with one rough pillar at back supporting ceiling, and one sloping pit in floor. Drum lintel. Painting, poor and mutilated.

On the left-hand wall, lists of offerings with scene :- . There is also a figure of a woman with title 

(16). Tomb of the 

Rectangular tomb with niche in inner wall and two sloping pits in floor. Drum lintel. Painting fair but much

destroyed. Frieze, band of white. Outside wall, left, flax beating; right, collecting the ox tax. Left wall, (1) Sesa seated before an altar :-  and (2) painted false-door. Inside wall, left, offerings of oxen; right, oxen again. Right wall, upper row, goats browsing, two white bulls fighting, and dog chasing deer: below, are figures of boats sailing. The shrine is not painted.

(17) Tomb of the 

Small rectangular tomb with drum lintel and one pit. Remains of painting and inscriptions on inner wall. The following names and titles can alone be deciphered :-

(1) 

(2) 

(3) .

(18). Tomb of the 

Small rectangular chamber with two sloping pits. Fragments of inscription on inner wall giving the name of the owner .

(19). Tomb of the [illegible].

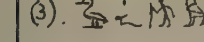
Small rectangular tomb with sloping pit and remains of painted inscriptions :- (1) [illegible] (2) [illegible]
(3) [illegible].
(4) [illegible].

(20) Tomb of the [illegible].

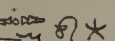
Large rectangular tomb much quarried into but with remains of a sculptured false door inscribed :-
(1) [illegible]
(2) [illegible]
(3) [illegible]

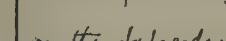
(21) Tomb of the [illegible].

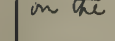
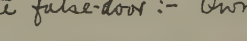
Rectangular chamber with sculptured false-door on left wall : the hieroglyphs are painted and very fine in quality. Tomb unfinished. The inscriptions (on the false door) run :- (1) [illegible] (2) [illegible]

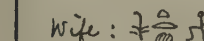
(3).  (4).

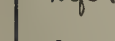
(5)  (6)

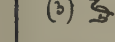
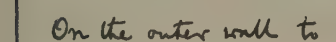
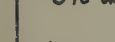
(22.) Tomb of the 

Large rectangular columnar chamber with ceiling painted to imitate red granite. Frieze  in black and white. Paintings and inscriptions almost entirely destroyed but the following can be made out on the false-door :- Owner: .

Wife : . Mother ? 

Sons : (1)  (2)

(3)  (4) 

On the outer wall to the left of entrance are scenes of flax beating:  and ; also a scene with oxen: ,  and .

On the outer wall is also figured a greyhound, similar to that shown in Beni Hasan I, pl. XIII. and painted white with black collar.

(23) Tomb of the [illegible].

Large rectangular columned tomb without painting. Only the large lintel over the entrance and the drum lintel are inscribed.

Lintel:- (1) [illegible]

(2) [illegible]

Round Lintel:- [illegible]

(24) Tomb of the [illegible]

Large rectangular tomb with side chamber in left-hand wall. All the walls have been much quarried into. Square pillars support the ceiling of main-chamber. There are remains of inscriptions on the upper parts of the walls and columns from which the following titles of the owner can be made out:- [illegible] (var. [illegible]) [illegible].

(25) Tomb of the

Very large rectangular hall about 27 m. long by 9 m. wide with a double row of five pillars each down the axis of chamber. Drum lintel. Sculptured false door on left-hand wall and small chamber out of right-hand wall. Part of pillars and roof fallen. Painting of very fine quality. On the left-hand half of left wall were two scenes (1) representing the owner of the tomb (a) spearing fish in a marsh, and (2) showing a number of officials bearing offerings: among these officials are (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10)

Among the figures in this scene are — (1) a priest sharpening a flint knife with legend: and (2) a number of dancers with ibex-headed wands.

It is unfortunate that the name of this great chieftain has been lost but there can be no doubt that this tomb dates from the early XIIth Dynasty.

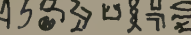
(26) Tomb of the

Large rectangular tomb with two square-pillared porticos & two pillared chamber with shrine at inner right-hand end. Drum lintel. Three pits, one of which is vertical, the others slanting. Painting good, but much mutilated & blackened. On lintel and jambs of doorway:- (1) (2) (3).

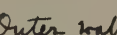
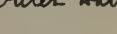
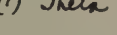
Above the doorway are painted the seven sacred oil jars and on either side along top of wall are four standing figures of the .

On the left of the entrance are the remains of a painted inscription in nine vertical lines of which only the beginning is at all legible: (1) (2)

On the right of the entrance are the remains of eight vertical lines of painted hieroglyphs, reading:- (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7).

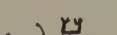
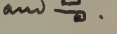
(8) .

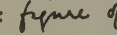
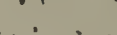
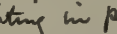
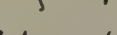
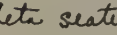
Main Chamber. Outer wall, left of entrance: scene of a procession of boats.

Left-hand wall. (1) Theta witnesses a bull-fight:  . This scene is in three registers, with legends:-  over bull, and  over attendant; also  and .

(2) On Pilaster: figure of Theta standing.

(3) Scene of fighting in papyrus canoes.

Inner wall. Theta seated in palanquin with elaborate canopy: upon the palanquin are the names and titles of Theta: before the palanquin is an officer ; following the palanquin are two officials: (a)  and (b) 

(4) Theta with his wife and son:- (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)  (5)  .

On the lintel to entrance to shrine is the name Theta-aa

with titles including .

Right-hand wall. (1) Scene of sacrificing oxen.

(2) On pilaster, standing figure of Theta.

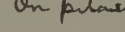
(3) Agricultural scenes with goats browsing on trees.

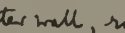
Outer wall, right of entrance. Theta spears fish in a marsh.

The architrave is inscribed with  formulae to Osiris and Anubis. The pillars have seated figures of Theta painted on each face with names & titles above. Among the titles occur , , .

Shrine. Left wall; (I) List of offerings with Theta seated before a table of offerings. (II) False door sculptured.

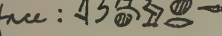
Inner wall; similar scene to that on left wall.

Right-wall; Theta standing receives offerings :-   Among the offices noted are (1)  & (2) 

(27) Tomb of the .

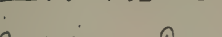
Large rectangular tomb with columned portico and four columned main chamber with shrine on inner wall. Four slanting pits : columns square. No drum lintel to entrance. Painting, fine but much blackened.

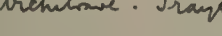
Main Chamber. Scenes similar to those in tomb of Thetaraqa and similarly arranged.

Left column, front face; Prayer to Anubis: right-face: .

Left-centre column, left-face; : front face, .

Architrave. Prayers to Osiris and Anubis.

Inner wall to left of shrine: .

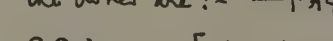
Shrine, inner wall: .

Tomb A. Uninscribed.

Small rectangular chamber with sloping shaft to sarcophagus chamber. Drum lintel. In the sloping shaft were found two coffins (Nos 2 & 3) and in the Sarcophagus chamber one coffin (No 1).

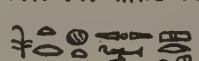
Coffin No 1.

Rectangular wooden coffin with inscription painted in detailed hieroglyphs. The inscriptions on lid and

sides give the de hetep setem formulae to Osiris and Anubis. On the left side of the box is a list of offerings in forty-seven vertical lines. The titles and name of the owner are :- 

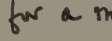
. [Now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford]

Coffin No. 2.

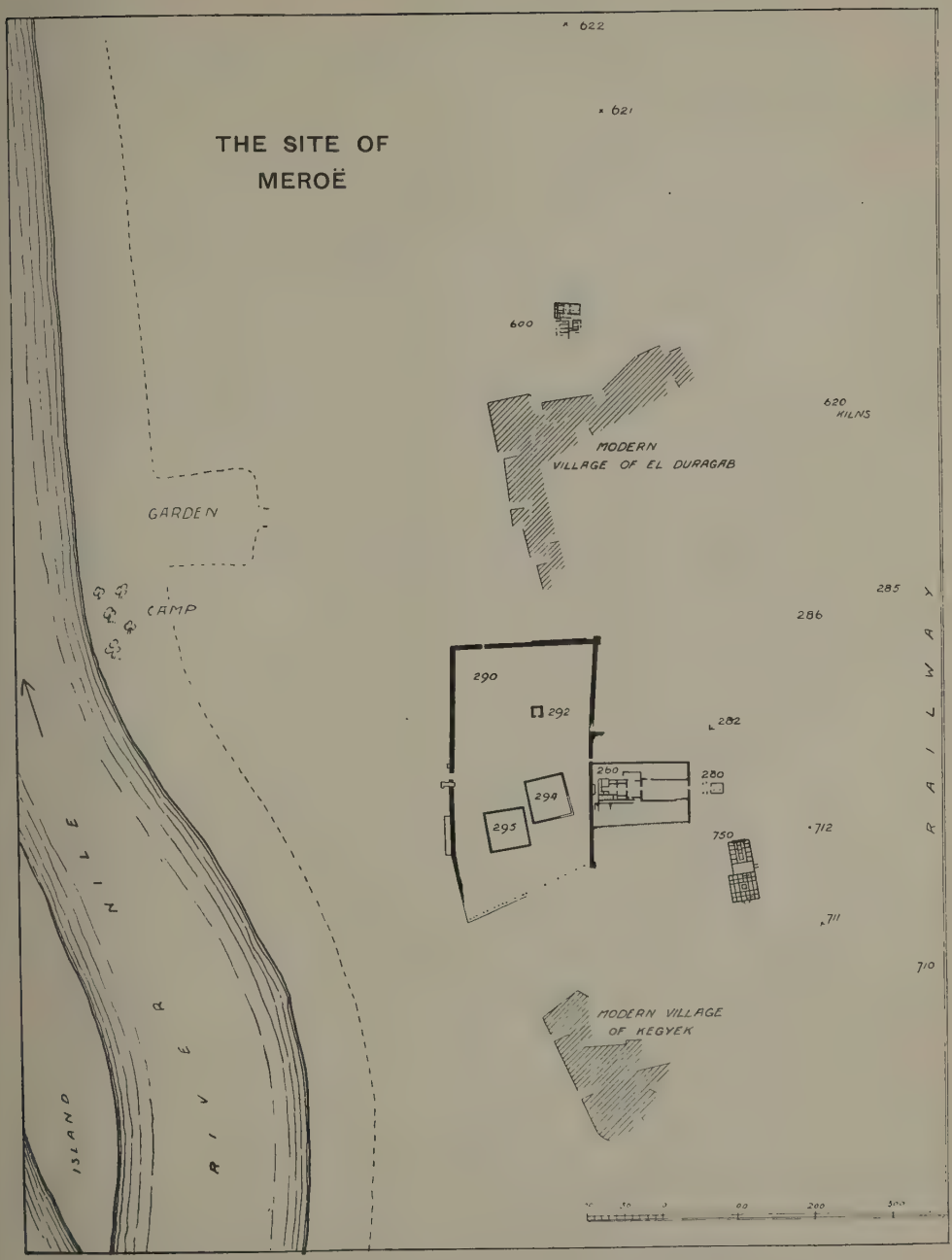
Rectangular wooden coffin with inscriptions painted in detailed hieroglyphs. The inscriptions on the sides of box give the de hetep setem formulae to Osiris and Anubis with the following titles and name :- .

[Now in the Cairo Museum]

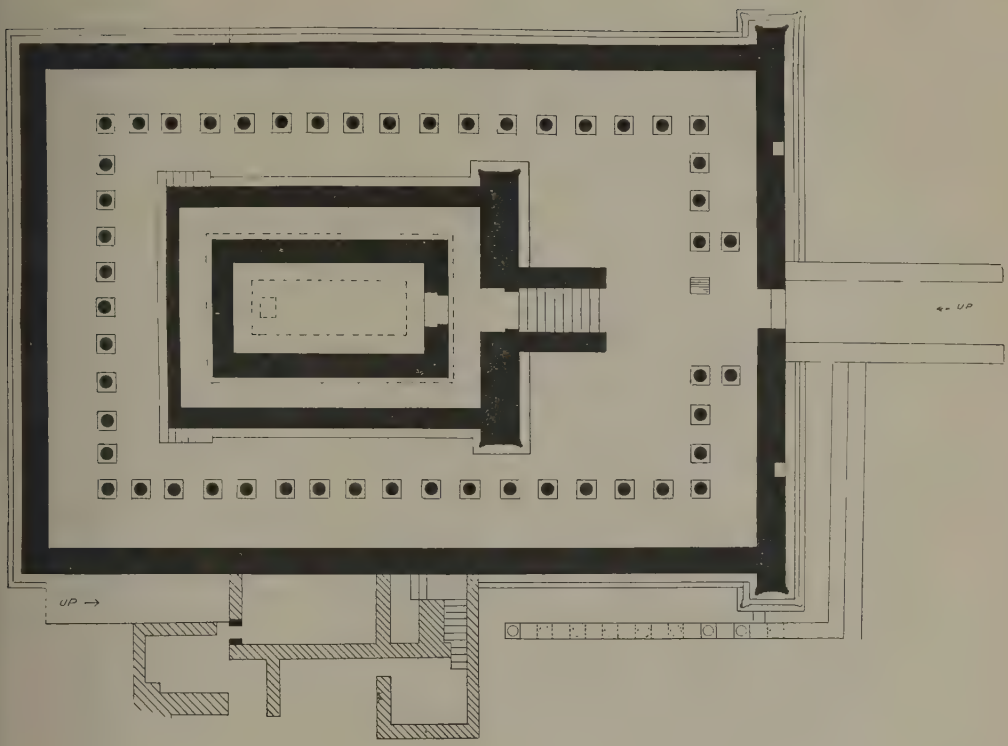
Coffin No 3.

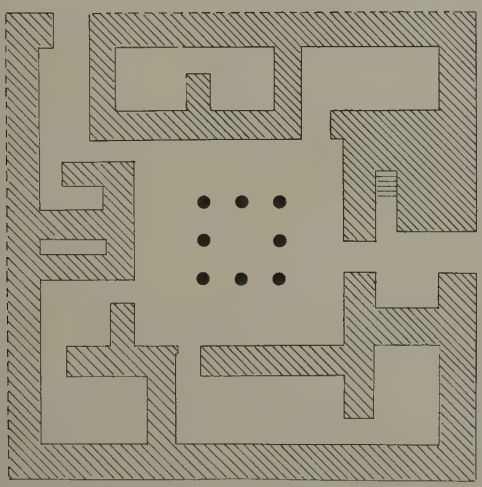
Rectangular wooden coffin with inscriptions painted in black. On the sides of the box the inscriptions give the de hetep setem formulae to Osiris and Anubis for a man named .

[Now in the Liverpool Museum]

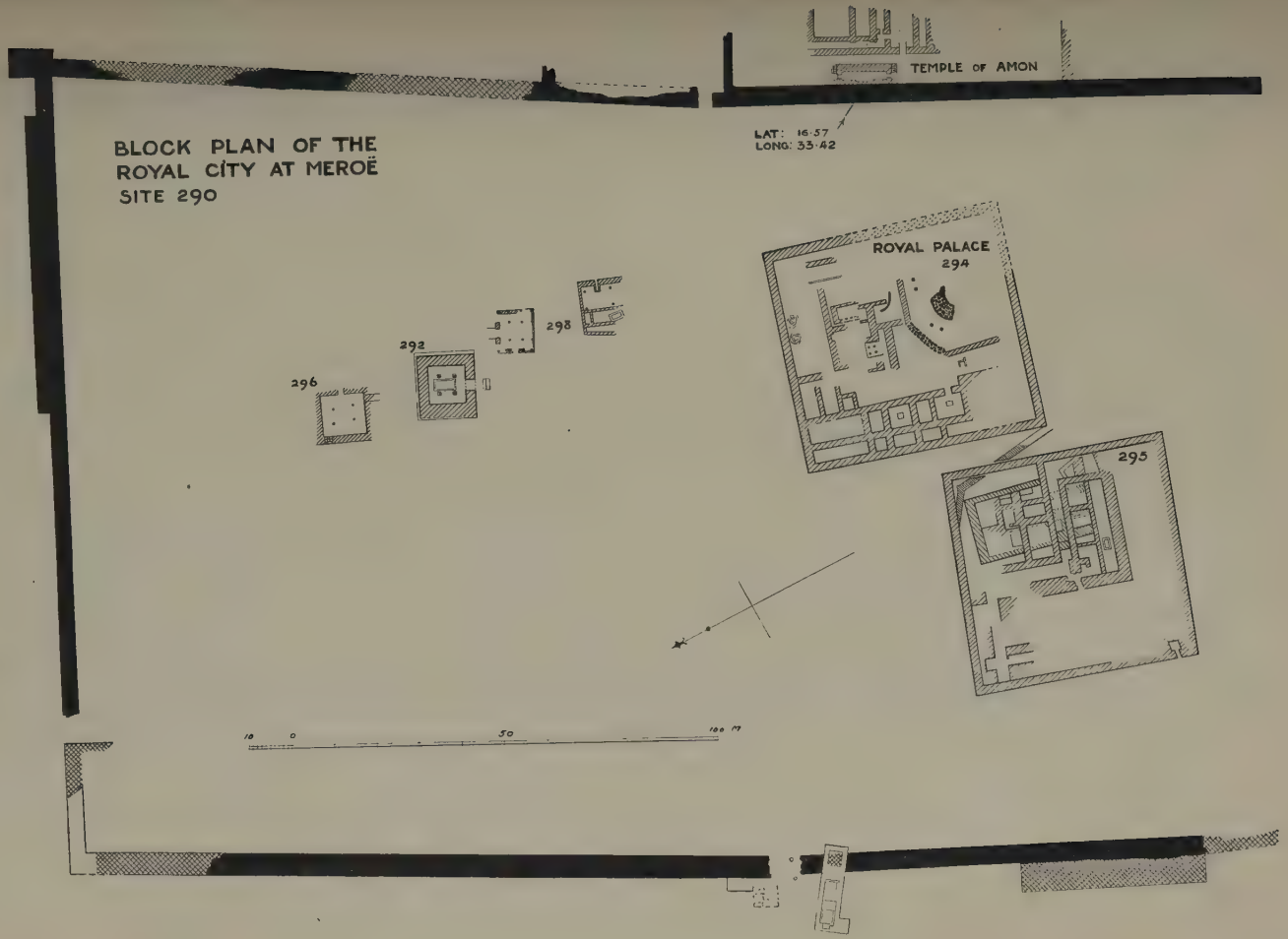


MEROË: THE SITE OF THE CITY AFTER TWO SEASONS' EXCAVATIONS.





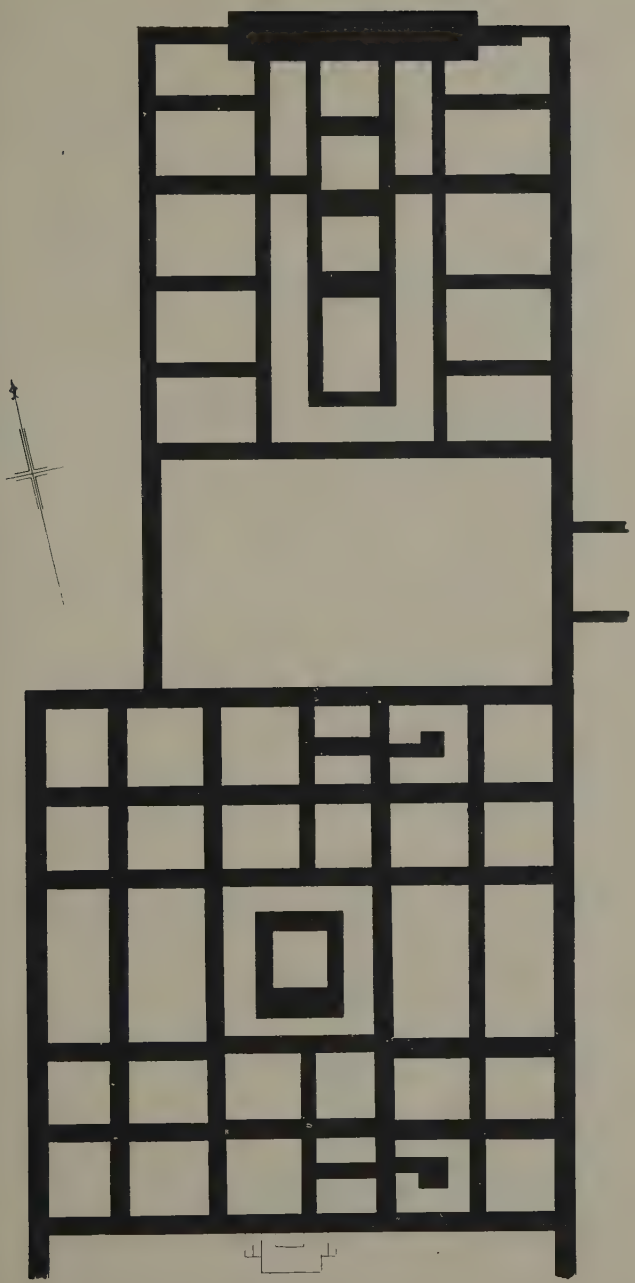
MEROË: THE SUN TEMPLE AND ADJACENT PRIESTS' HOUSE. No. 250.



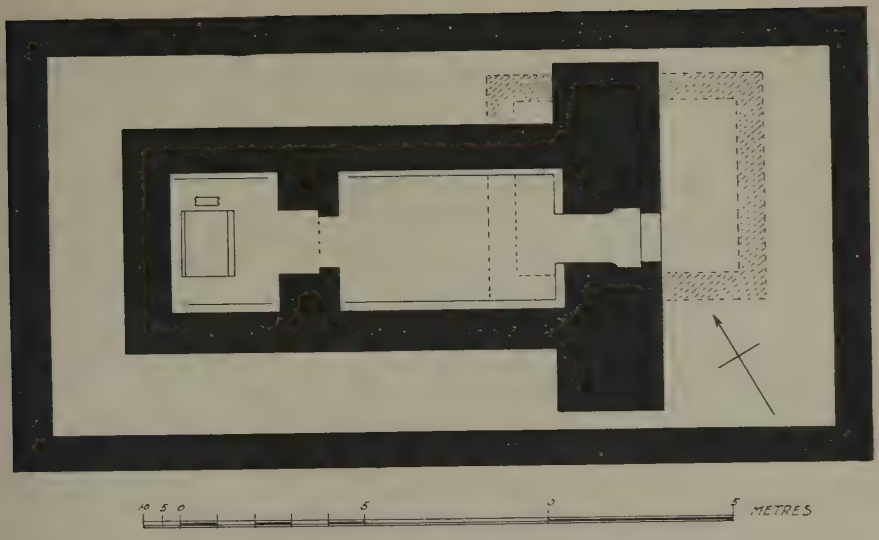
MEROË: BLOCK PLAN OF THE ROYAL CITY OR PALACE ENCLOSURE. No. 290.

PLATE IX.

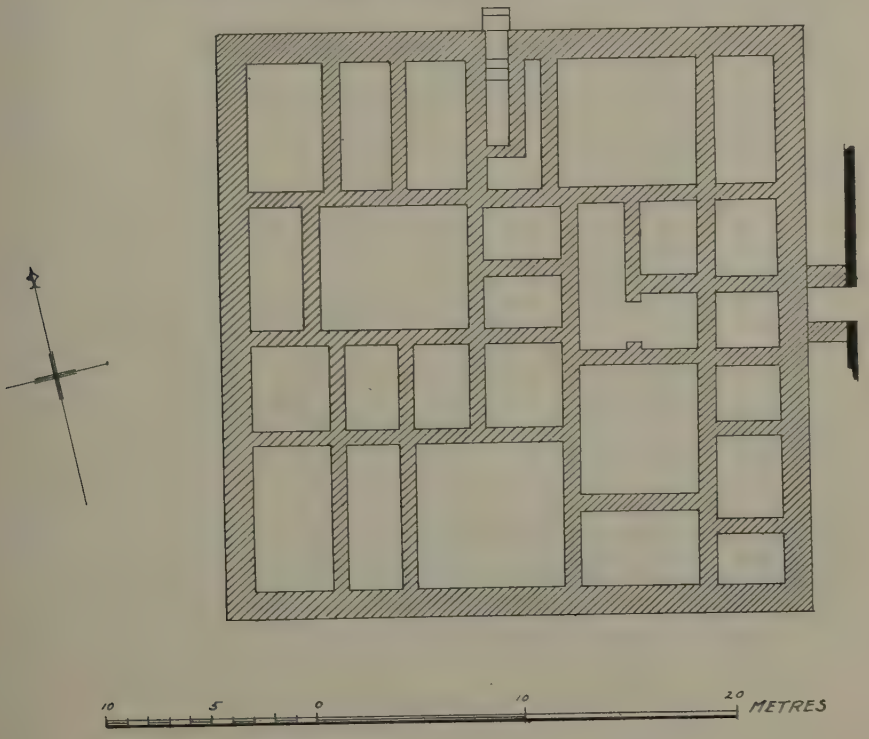
PLATE X.



MEROË: GREAT PALACE NEAR THE AMON-TEMPLE: NOT YET EXCAVATED. No. 750.



MEROE: SHRINE COVERING SITE OF ANCIENT WORKSHOP. No. 70.



MEROË: ISOLATED BUILDING S.E. OF THE SUN TEMPLE. No. 255.



BRONZE HEAD OF AUGUSTUS FROM MEROË.



BRONZE HEAD OF AUGUSTUS FROM MEROË.



BRONZE HEAD OF AUGUSTUS FROM MEROË.



(*a*) THE BRONZE HEAD FROM MEROË.

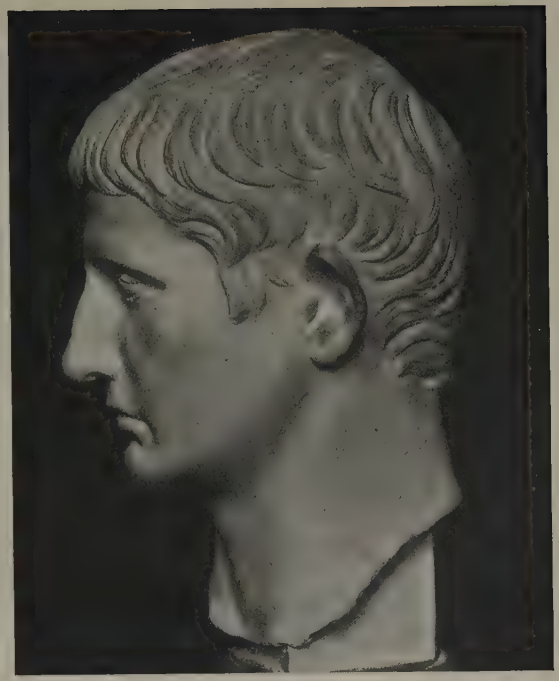
(*From a Cast*).



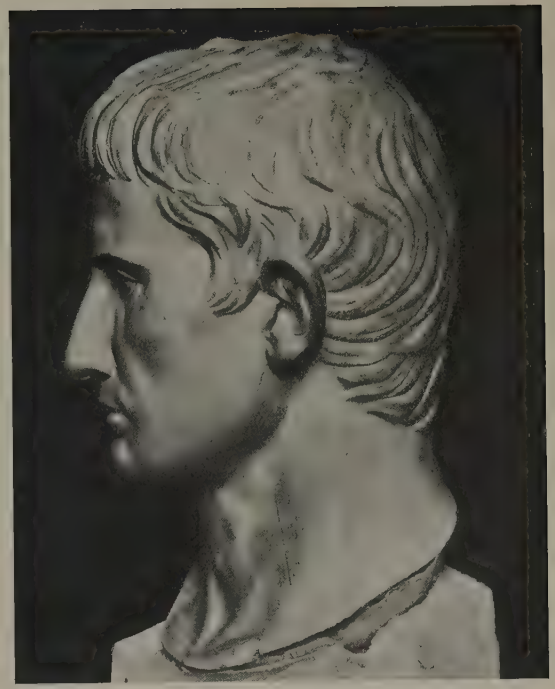
(*b*) THE HEAD OF THE PRIMA PORTA STATUE.

(*From a Cast*).

PORTRAITS OF AUGUSTUS COMPARED.

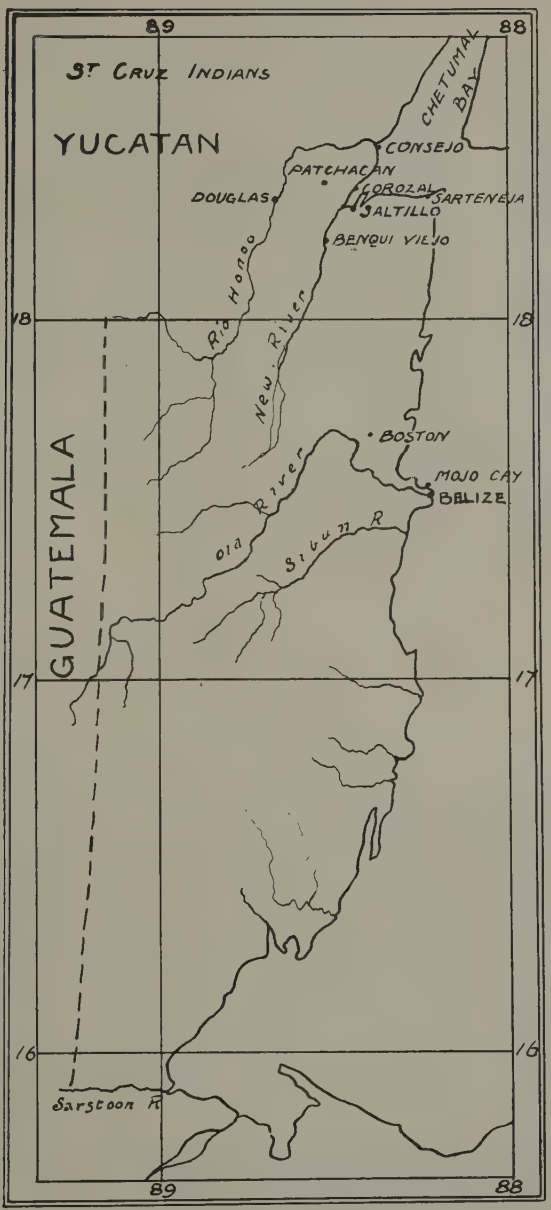


(*a*) THE BRONZE HEAD FROM MEROE.
(*From a Cast*).

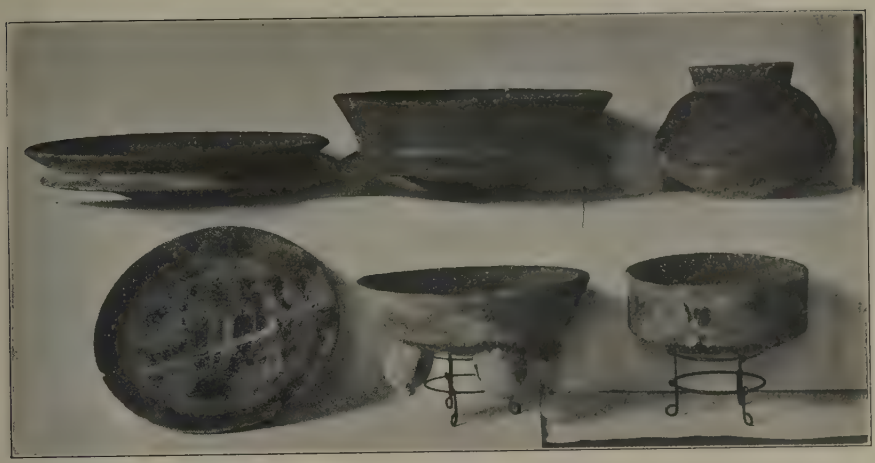


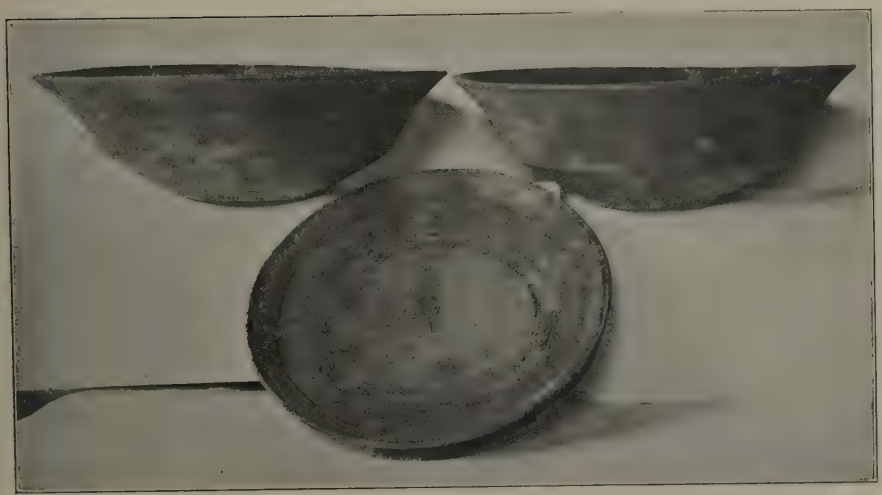
(*b*) THE HEAD OF THE PRIMA PORTA STATUE.
(*From a Cast*).

PORTRAITS OF AUGUSTUS COMPARED.

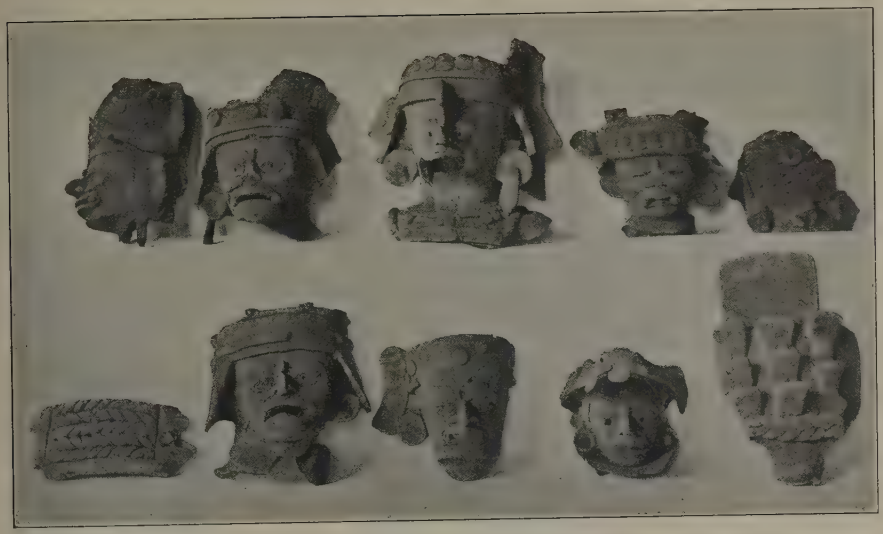


BRITISH HONDURAS: MAP SHOWING POSITION OF SITES EXCAVATED.





BRITISH HONDURAS: SOME TYPES OF BOWLS AND VASES FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS.





BRITISH HONDURAS: SOME OBJECTS FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS.



A BRONZE HITTITE STATUETTE.

PREHISTORIC PAINTED POTTERY IN MALTA

By T. ERIC PEET

Ten years ago Malta was known to archaeologists only for its megalithic 'Sanctuary' of Hagiar Kim and for the steatopygous figures found there. Since then, thanks to the untiring efforts of Professors Zammit and Tagliaferro, Albert Mayr, Dr. Ashby and others, enormous strides have been made, and we possess sites of various types, temples, dwellings and cemeteries, all of which have yielded large masses of material. The extraordinarily various and original pottery of the islands has already been reduced to order and classified,* and new fabrics are continually being added to the long list.

But it is only the work of the last eighteen months that has revealed the fact that Malta possessed a series of painted pot-fabrics which can be traced back to their earliest origins on the islands themselves.

The origin of painted ware probably lay in the love which the prehistoric Maltese had for the rich red pigment used by almost all neolithic and some paleolithic tribes of Europe, often in connection with burial. Thus we find on all Maltese sites, Cordin, Halsaflieni, Mnaidra etc., vases of the usual Maltese incised type, on which the linear incisions are overlaid with narrow bands of this loose red pigment.† In closer and more complicated cross-hatched patterns the whole design is smeared over indiscriminately with red. This is the very beginning of coloured decoration, and we have an interesting parallel to it in the incised vases found by Orsi in the Cave of Cala Farina, in South-east Sicily, some of which had undergone a partial, never general, coloration in red.‡ In both cases there is no special slip, and we can scarcely describe the vases as true painted ware.

*See Tagliaferro on the Halsaflieni pottery in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. III. Also the various excavation reports.

†*Op. cit.*, Pl. XI, Type G. 21. In the Halsaflieni examples the surface is light, elsewhere it is dark. In either case it is the same polished slip as in unpainted vases.

‡*Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana* XXXIII, p. 16. See also Wosinsky *Die Inkrustierte Keramik* for red incrustation in Europe generally, pp. 172-177.

A slight advance on this is seen in some fragments from Santa Verna, Gozo, where the incised design is carried out in double line so as to form wide bands, which are then coloured with a red paint far superior to the powdery pigment of the earliest attempts. The spaces outside the coloured bands are often filled with punctured dots. The ware is still the ordinary Maltese polished slip ware,* but a special effort has been made to select vases with a good ochre surface. Even now we have not reached true painted ware, for the colour is merely being used to heighten the effect of incised decoration.

Amongst the pottery of Ix Xaghra ta Cordin, the finest, and the last to be excavated of the three megalithic structures on Corradino Hill, are several fragments which at first sight look like ordinary Maltese slip ware, but which, on closer inspection, reveal bands of very poor paint. This paint, if such it can be called, varies in colour. It may be reddish, brown or grey, but it is always poor and thin. The vases to which it is applied are not, as a rule, fine examples of their kind, and vary greatly in the colour of their slip. The designs cannot be recovered from the fragments, but are all simple, carried out in straight or curved bands of from 3 to 6 mm. in width. Here the paint is left to produce its effect without the aid of incision, and although there is no specially prepared slip, nor even an attempt to choose suitable light-slipped vases, we may consider that we have a painted fabric.

Slightly more advanced than these are the few painted fragments from Halsaflieni (Tagliaferro's Type F. 15). In these the side of the vase to be ornamented—sometimes it is the inside—is covered with a dull ochre slip which has no polish. On this are laid in three cases (all fragments of one vase?) numerous discs of the size of a sixpence, in matt brown paint, and in the other cases a few vertical and horizontal bands in matt red.

The recent excavations of a megalithic building at Torre ta Santa Verna, Gozo, have revealed to us a further stage in the history. Here, two true painted wares occur. The first is exactly like the red-on-ochre ware of Halsaflieni, except that the ochre slip is lighter in colour, thicker, and covers the whole vase inside and

*Maltese polished slip ware (Tagliaferro's classes E. 10 & 11, G. 18, & 20—26) forms the bulk of the pottery found on all Maltese megalithic sites. The hard surface, which may fire to any *dull* shade of black, grey, brown, yellow or red, is quite unmistakable and is peculiar to Malta. The polish is very variable in quality.

out. In the second ware the slip is still thicker and of a rich cream colour, again without polish. The design is carried out in thin bands of matt chocolate paint. These bands, about 2 mm. broad, usually run in pairs, but the patterns, which cover only a small proportion of the surface of the vase, cannot be determined from the small fragments we possess.

Such are the painted wares which are definitely associated with the megalithic period in Malta. Omitting the primitive painted incised wares, the known fragments are not fifty in all, yet we seem to have every link in the chain which enables us to follow the rise of a native painted pottery on the islands. It must not be supposed, however, that even our best examples are highly artistic products. Their surface is rough and lumpy, they are, like all Maltese megalithic pottery, hand-made, and there is no subtilty in the decorative schemes. The Cretan potter of Early Minoan III would have stood aghast at their clumsiness.

Yet to the student of Maltese antiquities they have already proved their value by confirming the hypothesis, probable on other grounds, that Santa Verna and Halsaflieni are, in part, at least, later than Cordin and Mnaidra. The trouble hitherto has been that everything found in Malta seemed to belong to one and the same date. But since the finding of painted pottery, the excavations at Bahria,* and Professor Zammit's discovery† of an early burial at Bukâna, we have begun to see light.‡

It is now natural to ask whether we have any specimens of an even later development of the art of pottery painting in Malta.

In the Museum at Valletta there has been for some years a fine vase of painted pottery§ the *provenance* of which is not certainly known, though it came from somewhere near Rabato. It is a globular vase with a cylindrical neck and four small handles on the shoulder. The clay is covered with a white slip and the ornament carried out in bright red.

The other pieces of this ware known to me in Malta are as follows:—

Papers of the British School of Rome, Vol. V, pp. 149 ff.

†*Report of the Valletta Museum for 1911.*

‡It would serve no useful purpose to compare these painted wares with those of other parts of the Mediterranean, e.g., Crete and Sicily, with which they have practically nothing in common.

§Figured by Mayr in *Die Insel Malta.*

1. Nineteen pieces from a shaft dug in the glacis at Notabile near St. John's Gate (found with prehistoric, Roman, and Arab objects).
2. One piece (from a large vase) deposited in the Museum among the confused contents of a series of Punic tombs dug some years ago in the Hill of Tac-Caghki.
3. One piece said to have been found at the megalithic temple of Xeuchia in Gozo. All the other pottery brought to the Museum along with it is of well-known megalithic types.
4. Four pieces from Ta Ghammieza near Rabat in Gozo.
5. Four pieces, all of large vases, from Haggiaria near Rabat, Gozo.
6. One piece from Gnien is Sultan, near Notabile.

The fragment No. 6, and six of those included in No. 1, are in the Museum at Notabile; the rest are in that of Valletta.

In all cases the clay is greyish, burning to yellow-red at the surfaces, coarse and full of white particles. The slip is a thick creamy white, which wears off but does not flake. The paint of the design is a bright red on the small vases and darker red on the large. No shapes can be definitely ascertained.

The designs on the larger vases are simple, carried out in thick strokes. Fig. 1 is one of the most complicated examples of this type. On smaller vases the patterns are more interesting. Triangles and squares filled with single- or cross-hatching or chess-board design are the favourite elements of composition. These are combined with taste and regularity (figs. 2 and 3). Small strokes are frequently added along the lines that bound the patterns (figs. 2, 3 and 4). Fig. 4 shows a more irregular design with a feather motive that is not unusual. The patterns, except on the whole vase figured by Mayr, are all rectangular. On the larger vases we often have painted cordons in relief (fig. 3).*

It is remarkable that not a single fragment has yet been found in a dateable archaeological deposit. No site that has been systematically dug has ever yielded it. These vases are, both in technique and design, much more advanced than any of the types we have described, and we can hardly help assigning them to a

*I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. T. Ashby for all the photographs.

later date. They remind one most forcibly of the painted wares of the First Siculan Period in Sicily, the elements of design being almost identical in the two fabrics and the method of arrangement often very similar. Nevertheless, we have no evidence as yet for asserting any connection between the two. Although we have little idea of absolute dates in Malta, it is virtually certain that the Maltese examples are definitely later than the Sicilian. Indeed, as they usually seem to appear in or near spots where Roman antiquities occur, they may quite possibly belong to as late a period as the Roman.

To the same period, whatsoever it may be, we should perhaps assign a thick red polished ware with matt white ornament, of which six pieces are known, one from Haggiaria in Gozo, one from the glacis at Notabile, three from the surface of a field at Bahria, and one from near St. Paul's school at Notabile. The last is a curiously-shaped piece, which the keeper of the St. Agatha catacombs states that he found in a rock tomb of the usual Punic type, together with two lamps and a piece of a third. The lamps are late Punic or even Roman in date, but as the tomb had been previously ransacked the evidence is worthless. The curious object in fig. 6, undoubtedly meant for a female figure, seems to have ornamented the handle of a vase. The white painted lines are visible on the front of the skirt. It is worthy of notice that the chequer pattern formed by three lines crossing three which occurs on two of these fragments (see fig. 5) is also seen on the handle stump of the piece of red on white ware shown in fig. 2. The coincidence at least suggests the contemporaniety of the two wares, especially as the ornament is rather a peculiar one.

For the present we must be content to leave both vases undated, and to leave unsolved the question whether they are developments of the prehistoric fabrics or whether they represent a totally different tradition. Doubtless a happy discovery will, ere long, place the solution in our hands.

I have to thank Dr. T. Zammit, Curator of the Valletta Museum for permission to publish both photographs and descriptions.

A NEW ROYAL HITTITE MONUMENT FROM NEAR MARASH IN NORTHERN SYRIA

By JOHN GARSTANG, M.A., D.Litt.

In the extreme north of Syria the mountain ranges, known to the Turks as the Kurd Dagh and the Giaour Dagh (Amanus), form the eastern and western boundaries of a broad valley which varies generally from ten to fifteen miles in width. Two rivers flow through this valley: one, called the Kara Su (Black Water), rises near Sakje-Geuzi, and struggles southwards through swamps and marshes until it finds a way into the lake which marks the confluence of the Orontes and the Afrîn, not far from Antioch. The other river flows northwards to join the Jihan, or Pyramus: it is called, in contrast, the Ak Su (White River), and the distinction is somewhat warranted, as it flows more quickly and the river bottom is more often stony and free from silt. The divide between the sources of these two rivers, lying just northwards from Sakje-Geuzi, contains large swamps, which in winter time are united in a great shallow lake, draining into the Ak Su northwards.

The whole 'valley' is thus really a narrow plain bounded by parallel ranges of mountains. It is not, however, altogether continuous, for here and there outlying hills and isolated ridges divide it into well-defined districts, each one at the present time claiming its own chief. The same divisions were operative no less in antiquity and there is now evidence to show that in the later Hittite period (1000 B.C.-850 B.C.), at any rate, the valley was correspondingly divided up into principalities or petty kingdoms. Sakje-Geuzi itself marks one such district; and Sinjerli was clearly the centre of another royal domain adjoining it, immediately to the south. In the opposite direction, at the head of the valley, placed at the foot of the Taurus mountains which close its northern end, is Marash, historically a royal seat, as its numerous monuments testify. Between Sakje-Geuzi and Marash, there is, however, another isolated open district, the chief village of which is now Hadji Bey Bekli Keui; and here Dr. A. Wilkin and myself finally located a royal Hittite monument of which we had heard during our residence at Sakje-Geuzi (see Plate XXIII).

The monument is very solid and heavy, measuring 120 cms. by 66 by 34, the stone being dolerite. The face is flat, while the top and back are rounded. Notwithstanding its great weight it seems to have been brought to where we saw it, in a mill, from Choban Tepe, a mound about a kilometre distant towards the N.E. From the same mound other sculptured stones, of which we have record, have at various times been taken to Marash.

The subject of the sculpture, which is carved in relief about 1 cm. high, shows a royal personage facing left, holding up with his outstretched left arm a hare or rabbit, while with his right hand he clasps the triangular-shaped bow which rests upon his shoulder. He wears the Hittite conical hat with bulbous top, familiar from other similar monuments of Northern Syria. He is heavily bearded, and his hair is dressed in a large curl behind the neck, in the style characteristic chiefly of Hittite art of the later period, about the 9th century B.C. The nose is strong and prominent, but the features are crudely represented. His dress is a long robe with short sleeves, broad waistband, and apparently a deep fringe round the bottom of the skirt. A long sword is attached to the belt. His royal rank is denoted, as usual, by a winged rosette above his head; but the most curious feature about the design is the fact that he stands, it would seem, upon the back of a short-tailed animal. What the animal was, unless it were a bull, is not at all evident, as a corner of the sculpture is here broken away and missing. From what is known of Hittite symbolism, however, such a position is an attribute of divinity. We must suppose that in this case, the king is represented as impersonating a god of the chase, and for such impersonation there is analogy in the sculptures of Sinjerli.

However that may be, it seems incontestable from the evidence of this sculpture, and of other fragments found in the same mound, that this was another ' royal ' site, similar in many respects to that of Sakje-Geuzi.

At Marash we gained information and secured photographs of several new sculptures, and re-studied some which are on record but have been lost to view for some time. We hope to publish these also at an early date.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MYCENEAN REMAINS AND THE HOMERIC CATALOGUE

By M. S. THOMPSON

The following paper is an attempt to see how far the distribution of Mycenean remains corresponds with the area covered by the Homeric Catalogue. The attempt has frequently been made before, but recent discoveries have greatly increased the available knowledge of the boundaries of the Mycenean world. Comparatively few of the towns mentioned in the Catalogue have yet been thoroughly excavated, and it is still only possible to consider the Catalogue by districts and not town by town; in this way the danger is avoided of laying undue emphasis on a single site, where what seems at first to be a close resemblance between literary and archaeological evidence may eventually prove to be a chance coincidence.

The list of Agamemnon's forces is given in the following order: East Central Greece from Phocis to the Isthmus; the Peloponnese beginning in the N.E. and ending in the N.W.; the coast and islands north of the Gulf; the line of islands across the southern Aegean; and lastly, in contrast to the rest, and apparently in no geographical order, Thessaly. Following the same order let us consider the distribution of early civilisations in these five districts.

East Central Greece

In the northern portion of this district, that is to say in Phocis and Boeotia, Mycenean remains have been discovered at many sites, among which the following are the more important:—Elateia,* Daulis,† Orchomenos,‡ Ghulas,§ Poliyira,¶ Thebes,‖ Lebadeia,** Tanagra,†† Dilisi,‡‡ on the shores of the bay of Anticyra on the Corinthian Gulf,§§ and at Delphi.¶¶ At Orchomenos, Poliyira,

* Near, but not at the classical site. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1908, pp. 63 ff.
† *Myk. Vasen*, pp. 43 ff.
‡ Bulle, *Orchomenos.*
§ *B.C.H.*, 1894, pp. 271 ff.
¶ Bulle, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
‖ Πρακτικά, 1910, pp. 152 ff.
** *Myk. Vasen*, p. 42.
†† *Myk. Vasen*, p. 43.
‡‡ *B.S.A.*, XII, p. 94.
§§ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1889, pp. 267 ff. Πρακτικά, 1907, p. 111.
¶¶ *Fouilles des Delphes*, V, pp. 1 ff.

Elateia, Ghulas, Thebes and Delphi, Mycenean sherds earlier than the Third Late Minoan Period have been found; and near Elateia a vase of the First Middle Minoan Period which is, however, probably a casual importation. At the Mycenean sites, on the Island of Euboea,‖‖ all three periods of the Late Minoan Age are represented. The main focus of Mycenean civilisation in Central Greece is beyond reasonable doubt close to the shores of Copais. The tholos tomb at Orchomenos, with its carved ceiling, denotes a culture as fully developed as the finds from Mycene, and if the other remains at Orchomenos have not fulfilled expectations, it is owing to the denuded condition of the site as a whole. Enough has survived to prove the importance in early days of this traditional Minyan city. Besides Late Minoan wares of the usual types, there is also at Orchomenos great quantities of a grey wheel-made pottery, which is often called 'Minyan.' This at Orchomenos seems to be in the main approximately contemporary with the shaft graves at Mycene, although at Phylakopi, in Melos, it occurs in small quantities and in a cruder form at an earlier date. The distribution of this ware, which is easily distinguishable, is instructive. Small quantities of it occur in the Argolid, in Attica, along the Thessalian coasts, and in the sixth and seventh cities at Troy,* which compared with the large quantities found at Orchomenos indicate an important and early trade radiating if not from Orchomenos itself, at least from its immediate neighbourhood. This trade, moreover, presumably went up the Euripus, along the Thessalian coasts and thence across to the Troad. The example of Minoan script found at Orchomenos† is particularly interesting, as it is not identical with that found in Crete; it indicates, perhaps, that by the time the centre of power had passed from Crete to the mainland, the difference between the mainland and Crete was not merely one of wealth or power, but also of language or dialect. This may add farther point to the small part played by Crete in the Epics, despite its past. On the other hand, the Orchomenos script may eventually be proved to differ also from that used in Southern Greece, in which

‖‖ Πρακτικά, 1907, pp. 114 ff.

* *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 251.

† *Scripta Minoa*, Vol. I, p. 57.

case it will help to differentiate the 'Minyans' from other contemporary tribes. Close to Orchomenos are several early settlements of which the chief is Ghulas (? Arne). The walls of Ghulas, enclosing an area several times as great as Mycene, are among the greatest relics of the Mycenean age still surviving. In other respects this site is almost entirely denuded, and only a few handfuls of sherds were found in the so-called palace. Some doubt has been cast on the date of the 'Minyan' dykes in the bed of Lake Copais, but if prehistoric, as seems highly probable, they are without parallel on the mainland of Greece or in the Aegean area.

We may then safely regard East Central Greece, as far south as Attica, as a thoroughly Myceneanized region in the Third Late Minoan Period. In several places Mycenean civilisation began at an earlier date, especially at Orchomenos, but since this civilisation in the first instance probably came by sea, its first appearance may be found on Euboea. The portion of the Catalogue dealing with this region is noticeable for the large number of towns enumerated and for the separation of Orchomenos from the rest of Boeotia.

Mycenean remains in Attica* are also plentiful, but they belong for the most part to the Third Late Minoan Period. The chief sites are Menidi, Spata, Halike, Thoricus, Marcopoulo, Brauron, Prasiae and the acropolis of Athens. Excepting the contents of the tholoi at Menidi and Spata, none of the objects yet found denote any great wealth. The remains on the acropolis, though scanty, are important, and include traces of a large building and sherds of the Second as well as the Third Late Minoan Period. Aegina and Salamis also contain Mycenean sites, and similar remains have been found at Eleusis and at Megara.† There is, therefore, no archaeological reason for suspecting the passage in which Athens appears in the Catalogue; and it may also be noted that in the dispute between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis the Megarians claimed that the Megarid was included in the true version of the Catalogue.

* Tsountas and Manatt, p. 8 ff.

† *Myk. Vasen*, p. 83.

The Peloponnese.

The prevalence of Mycenean remains in Argolis is so well known that a list of the sites is unnecessary. Despite the recent excavations at Tiryns there is hardly any evidence for true Minoan civilisation in Argolis before the Late Minoan Period; earlier settlements probably existed, but presumably never attained to any great size or importance. Outside the Argive plain, Mycenean (L. M. III) remains have been found near Porto-Kheli opposite Spetsia,* close to Iria, at Dhimaina near New Epidaurus, and also at Kalauria.†

A number of Mycenean objects, reported to have been found near Aegium,‡ have from time to time appeared in Athens; from Corinth,§ or its immediate neighbourhood only one Mycenean vase is, I believe, yet known, but the excavations at Corinth now in progress may at any moment reveal a Mycenean city. In the case of Corinth, considering how long Mycenean culture was domiciled at Mycenae, and taking into account also the significant position of Mycenae on the road leading to the isthmus, no argument based on negative evidence can be admitted.

In the Vale of Sparta, there are Mycenean sites at Vaphio, Arkina, Amyklae¶ and at Sparta itself.‖ The rich contents of the tholoi at Vaphio, which is a considerable distance from the sea, is evidence for a high standard of Mycenean civilisation in central Laconia as early as the Second Late Minoan Period, and an important city in the neighbourhood, still awaiting discovery, seems a probable inference. The Mycenean site at Sparta, on the opposite side of the river to the classical town, was much destroyed, but enough is left to show that it was once of considerable size. The pottery here has all been attributed to the end of the Mycenean age, but a few of the sherds seem to me to belong in style more to the Second Late Minoan Period.**

* Πρακτικά, 1909, pp. 183 ff.

† *Arch. Anz.*, 1911, pp. 149 ff. *Ath. Mitt.*, 1895, pp. 297 ff.

‡ Mr. T. W. Allen has shown that Agamemnon's capital was at Corinth, and that his kingdom extended from Aegium to Mycenae; he was, in fact, King of Achaea. *J.H.S.*, 1910, pp. 292 ff.

§ *Myk. Vasen*, p. 44.

¶ Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pp. 130 ff.

‖ *B.S.A.* XVI, pp. 4 ff.

** *B.S.A.*, XVI, Pl. II *d*, and fig. 4.

On the west side of Taÿgetus, and not far from the alleged site of Gerenia, a tholos tomb has been found at Kampos.†† The pottery, which is very indeterminate, indicates that this tomb probably belongs to the Third Late Minoan Period. A few Mycenean sherds, also late, have been found in the so-called grotto of Nestor at the Messenian Pylos,‡‡ and near the same site is a tomb belonging to an earlier period. The Messenians being vassals of Nestor are not mentioned in the Catalogue, but are represented by their towns Dorion and Kyparisseïs.*

Professor Doerpfeld's excavations in Western Greece have added considerable information to our knowledge of Mycenean civilisation in that region. At Kakovatos,† the Homeric Pylos, there is now evidence for Mycenean culture as early as the Second Late Minoan Period. At Samikon,‡ perhaps the Homeric Arene, Mycenean sherds have been found together with crude wares analogous to those found at Olympia, Pisa and Leukas. For the moment, however, we must follow the Catalogue to Arcadia.

Few sites in Arcadia have yet been excavated and at only one, Tegea, have Mycenean remains (L.M. III) been found.§ Owing to Pelasgian legends, Arcadia is often regarded as being probably an important centre of Mycenean civilisation. Although negative evidence is of little value, this view seems most unlikely; all the existing evidence goes to prove that Mycenean civilisation begins near the coasts and spreads inwards. Consequently, inland Arcadia is one of the last districts where early or rich Mycenean sites are to be expected. On the other hand, late sites will presumably be found in many parts of this region. Elis and the north-west corner of the Peloponnese are only scantily known to the author of the Catalogue, and four towns alone are mentioned. The early remains yet known in this district are few, but it is noticeable that they are not Mycenean at all. The prehistoric pottery from Olympia and Pisa¶ connects generally with that found further north. One sherd in the Third Late Minoan style was found at Olympia, which helps to date this early deposit.

†† Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1891, pp. 189 ff.
‡‡ *B.C.H.*, 1896, pp. 388 ff. Πρακτικά, 1909, pp. 274 ff.
* *J.H.S.*, 1910, p. 300.
† *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, pp. 295 ff.; XXXIV, pp. 269 ff.
‡ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, pp. 320 ff.
§ Πρακτικά, 1909, p. 303 ff.
¶ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, pp. 185 ff.; 320 ff.; XXXVI, pp. 163 ff.

The West Coast and Islands North of the Corinthian Gulf

The change in the Catalogue noticeable at Elis continues further north; few towns are mentioned and only the coast is known. The archaeological remains correspond to this state of knowledge. Mycenean sherds (L. M. III) have been found at Calydon, Koronta‖ and Palairos, but further inland, at Stratos and Thermon, remains of a non-Mycenean character occur. At Thermon an early, crude, and non-Mycenean pottery is found directly beneath the archaic temple, thus indicating, apparently, that a Mycenean period never existed there, and has not merely escaped discovery. The evidence from the islands fully bears out this view.

A considerable number of Mycenean vases (L. M. III), which were found many years ago at Livatho, Same, Pronos and Ithaca, are now in the Neuchatel Museum.* Exact details of the circumstances under which they were found are wanting, but some can now be supplied by Dr. Kavvadias' recent excavations at Livatho in Cephallenia.† The excavator remarks that before the importation of Mycenean vases Cephallenia, like the Troad, seems to have had an indigenous style of its own, and that, after the importation of Mycenean wares began, these local vases continued to be made or at least were still in use. The pottery found at Leucas‡ seems to me to be in no sense Mycenean, but to resemble generally the primitive wares from Olympia and Stratos and to connect ultimately with the North Adriatic styles. A certain Mycenean influence may be allowed perhaps to have influenced this pottery in some of the vase-shapes. The pottery of Leucas also does not seem to bear any close relation, as a whole, to the non-Mycenean wares of Thessaly. A long bronze sword, with decorated hilt, and a few other objects show Mycenean connections. Thus with Leucas we are on the boundary both of the Mycenean and the Homeric world; a point which is still more significant if Leucas is not Ithaca but Dulichium, and consequently, according to Homer, a recent colony from Elis, and apparently not connected in origin or polity with the Cephallenian islands.§

‖ Πρακτικά, 1907, pp. 100 ff.

* *Rev. Arch.*, XXXVII, pp. 128 ff. For Ithaca cf. *B.C.H.*, 1905, pp. 151 ff.

† *Comptes Rendus*, 1909, pp. 382 ff.

‡ *A.J.A.*, XV, pp. 416 ff. (report of lecture). *Brief über Leukas-Ithaka*, I-VI. As will be seen above, I am unable as yet to accept fully the excavator's views.

§ *J.H.S.*, 1910, p. 305.

The Aegean Islands

The prevalence of Mycenean remains along the line of islands across the south of the Aegean as compared with their paucity in the Cyclades has been so often noticed that no list of finds seems necessary here.¶ The importance of the Cyclades in early Greek times depends on the Greek colonisation of the Anatolian coast, of which there is little or none in Homer.

Thessaly

Thessaly and the Spercheius valley, throughout the prehistoric age, were inhabited by a barbarous and non-Mycenean people. The early signs of Mycenean or southern civilisation are as follows:— A certain amount of Minyan ware is found near the shores of the Pagasaean Gulf; but further inland this is very rare. Pottery of the Second Late Minoan Period has been found in small quantities on the Pagasaean Gulf, and one group of vases of a similar date is known from near Elassona. Pottery of the Third Late Minoan Period is found scattered widely over Thessaly, but it is never in large quantities and the local crude wares always predominate.* With this archaeological evidence may be compared the Homeric accounts of Northern Greece, which contain references to recent internal wars against local tribes.†

General Conclusions about the Achaean Catalogue

At this point, before passing on to the Trojan portion of the Catalogue, a few conclusions may be conveniently considered. As far as the mainland is concerned, the area covered by the Catalogue coincides in a marked degree with the distribution of Mycenean remains. The chief Mycenean centres are prominent in Homer, and in the north the boundaries of what may be termed the Homeric and Mycenean regions agree in detail. Thessaly, which was never completely dominated by Mycenean civilisation, is, in Homer, half civilised, and peopled by a barbarous folk ruled by Achaean chieftains. On the west coast also, the districts known to Homer

¶ *Ionia and the East*, pp. 47 ff.

* For full details see A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*.

† Il. B 740 ff.

are Mycenean, while the interior of the country, which is outside the Homeric world, possesses a rude civilisation of a non-Mycenean type. In Arcadia it must be left an open question as to whether there is or is not a vital discrepancy between archaeological and literary evidence; for at present, except at Tegea, there is no archaeological evidence either way. The Mycenean islands in the Aegean are those that are mentioned in Homer, with two possible exceptions, Melos and Thera. Both of these may, however, be included in the πολλῇσιν νήσοισι that were the inheritance of the house of Atreus. It is also perhaps worth noticing that Melos, after the decline of the obsidian trade lost its former importance; and it is also not impossible that the eruption at Thera, which overwhelmed the Middle Minoan settlement, caused that island to be only partially inhabited for many centuries. Still it is strange that they are not mentioned. The omission of Cyprus is natural owing to its distance from the rest of the islands, and also to the fact that, though important in the Third Late Minoan Period, it does not seem to have been ever completely a Mycenean island.

In short the catalogue of Agamemnon's confederacy includes and coincides with the Mycenean world, for the few Mycenean sites in Anatolia are at best Mycenean trading factories, or foreign ports connected with the Mycenean empire. Thus this Catalogue seems to be in the first instance a national list of the Mycenean dominions, and only incidentally a list of those who fought against Troy. This may explain the order in which the various districts are enumerated, all with the exception of Thessaly being in a natural geographical arrangement. The last two acquisitions of the Mycenean world were Thessaly and portions of the west coast, and these consequently would not appear in an earlier national list. Such a list would have begun in Boeotia or Phocis and would have followed the order of the catalogue, as we have it, up to some point on the west coast; it might have ended at the Corinthian Gulf. Then would follow the list of Aegean islands, but Thessaly would not appear. An extension of territory in the west would create no difficulty; it would fall into its proper geographical position* and the jump to the Aegean islands would merely be postponed. The acquisition of Thessaly would cause some inconvenience if the list was to be kept

* The probability that it was colonised from Pylos or Elis might help this.

up to date. Geographically it should be put first; but a half-conquered province could hardly appear first in a national list. Thessaly, therefore, was tacked on at the end, after the Aegean islands and in defiance of all geographical order; but, nevertheless, in its true historical position.

The Trojan Catalogue

The area covered by Priam's allies is still to a very great extent unknown archaeologically. Troy itself is the only large site at all completely excavated, and many districts still await surface exploration. The fact that Troy and Mycenae were both discovered about the same time has led to a great misapprehension of the true character of the Trojan remains. The great bulk of the Trojan pottery, which is either undecorated or else decorated with incised designs, is not merely unlike any true Mycenean pottery, but also very different from the pre-Mycenean wares of Greece. The first signs of any close connection between Troy and Greece are to be found in the sixth and seventh settlements, where first 'Minyan ware, and then Mycenean (L. M. III) wares appear. Both, however, are in the main imported, and both, too, are rare, so that it is exceeding the evidence to talk of a Mycenean city at Troy.* Outside the Troad, Mycenean remains in Anatolia are very few and of late date, with one or two exceptional objects, as a sword from Pergamon and two gems from Priene and Caria.† At the same time there is a large Mycenean element in later Ionian art; but this is more probably due to a movement from the mainland of Greece consequent on the Dorian invasion than to extensive Mycenean settlements at an earlier period, though considerable Mycenean influence, particularly in the south-west, may be allowed prior to the Ionian migration.

The position of Troy itself denotes that it was almost certainly on an important trade route, and it has been suggested that the arrangement of Priam's allies in four lines radiating from Troy denotes the main lines followed by Trojan trade,‡ which

* Cf. Doerpfeld, in Tsountas and Manatt, p. xxx, preface.

† *Scripta Minoa*, Vol. I, p. 63.

‡ J. L. Myres, *J.A.I.*, 1897, pp. 171 ff. Much of what follows is based on this paper.

consequently went east and west and not north and south as has at times been suggested.§ For a north and south trade through or past Troy in prehistoric times I can find no archaeological evidence at all, but for a trade going east and west archaeological evidence exists. Some of the Trojan weapon types suggest an ultimate connection with Cyprus, but others, and these seem mostly of later date, clearly connect closely with the Danube valley, and many exact parallels have been found in Bulgaria.¶ Pottery analogous to some of the local Trojan wares has been found at Bos-uyuk, Yortan, Pitane and Gordion;‖ on the European side, resemblances have been seen in the few prehistoric sherds yet known from Macedonia* and also in certain of the Servian wares.† To the north of the Danube, however, and on the great central plateau of Cappadocia, traces of extensive early civilisations have been found which from the abundance of painted wares are sharply differentiated from the early civilisation at Troy, as a whole. Both these districts, moreover, are outside the area mentioned by the Catalogue; on the European side Priam's allies are all to the south of the Danube, and none of his Anatolian forces come from the central plateau. Thus, as far as the evidence as yet available can be judged, there is nothing in it to conflict with the view that the districts, which supplied the Trojans with troops, were inhabited by races enjoying a somewhat similar civilisation and intimately connected with an early trade route that passed through Troy itself. There is, however, as yet no evidence for a uniform civilisation in any way comparable to the Mycenean civilisation in Greece, nor is such a civilisation apparently implied in Homer. Priam's forces were less homogeneous than those of Agamemnon's confederacy, and a diversity of language in one case seems to be referred to in the Iliad.‡ The gold and silver work found at Troy is in many respects curiously unlike that from any Mycenean site. The golden diadems, with their numerous pendants hung on small chains, suggest from their style a connection with ornaments of a later date

§ Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, I, p. 82.
¶ There are many examples in the Sophia Museum.
‖ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1899, pp. 1 ff. Gordion, p. 196. See also finds in Constantinople Museum.
* H. Schmidt, *Zeit. f. Ethnol.*, 1905, pp. 96 ff; 1904. pp. 608 ff.
† Cf. Vassits, *Praehistorische Zeitshrift*, II, p. 32.
‡ Il. Δ 435.

found at Hallstatt.§ Some of the Trojan jewellery likewise recalls the later jewellery from Ephesus¶ which seems to contain a strong Mycenean element affected and modified by a native Anatolian style. The amount and character of the silver plate found at Troy is also an important feature; and it is difficult if not impossible to dissociate it from 'Alybe, where is the birthplace of silver.'‖ The name Alybe has recently been interpreted as a transliteration of a Hittite word meaning 'the land of the Halys,' and it has also been suggested that the Homeric names of the Halizonian leaders are translations of the Assyrian '*damgaru*' or 'commercial traveller.' The mines in the Taurus worked by the Hittites were the chief source of silver for the early Oriental world.**

In conclusion there is little to add. The Trojan war was a struggle on the part of the entire Mycenean world against another power that extended on both sides of the Hellespont. The Catalogue is a list of the Mycenean world, and by its order shows the direction and manner in which Mycenean power spread. It also indicates the reason for the Trojan War itself; after the conquest of Thessaly, Mycenean power, which invariably spread along the coasts, had reached the fullest development which was possible without coming into contact with the Trojan sphere of influence. After Volo (Iolcus) the next port is Salonica, beyond the Axius. The attack on Troy was a blow aimed at the enemies' headquarters and directed along the trade route to the Troad, which started from the Euripus.* It was for this reason that the fleet assembled at Aulis. Helen may have been the occasion of the war, but no wise man would have made her the cause.†

The objection may be raised that Homeric armour is post-Mycenean and that, in consequence, Homeric geography cannot refer to the Mycenean age with the accuracy suggested above. Two answers may be made to such an objection. First, as Homer is admittedly writing of a war that occurred before his lifetime, he

§ Cf. von Sacken, *Grabfeld von Hallstatt* Pl. XIII, XIV, XV.

¶ *Excav. at Ephesus*, p. 244.

‖ Il. B 857. Cf. Myres *op. cit.*

** Sayce quoted by Allen, *J.H.S.*, 1910, p. 315.

* This is shown by the distribution of 'Minyan' ware.

† Cf. Hdt. I, 3.

must, like all ancient poets, be considered anachronistic unless definite evidence can be brought to the contrary. Homeric armour, for example, I believe to be that in vogue during Homer's lifetime. There are, however, degrees in anachronisms according to the subject involved. Anyone, to-day, for example, who sat down to write an epic of the Napoleonic wars without long research would probably be correct in the geographical distribution of the combatants, but even though trying to avoid anachronisms, which an ancient poet would not mind, would probably arm the combatants with mid-Victorian weapons. Homeric geography can easily belong to an earlier stratum than Homeric armour. Secondly, I would question if Homeric armour is really post-Mycenean at all, and in another paper I hope to show that the criteria commonly used to prove that Homeric armour is of a late date are all satisfied in that late phase of Mycenean civilisation rightly called Achaean by Dr. Mackenzie and separated by him from the subsequent Dipylon Age. The difference in date between Homeric armour and Homeric geography, I would therefore suggest, is very slight; nor does the knowledge of Asia shown in the body of the poems seem any more than a 'Mycenean' of the mainland* after the Trojan war might reasonably have had. If the Catalogue is, in the first instance, a list of the Mycenean world and only incidentally a list of those who went against Troy, there is no reason to assume it was first invented for the purposes of the Epic; it may rather be a list that was added to and increased as Mycenean power developed. But the developed and late form in which it survives in the Iliad seems, in archaeological terminology, to be of Mycenean rather than of Dipylon date.

* But see *J.H.S.*, 1910, p. 313.

TWO PREHISTORIC SLATE PALETTES

In 1908 I secured at Luxor the two Prehistoric Slate Palettes figured in Plate XXIV. Both specimens are rubbed in the centre and stained with green, showing that they have been used for grinding the green pigment used by the early Egyptians for toilet purposes. The smaller of the two, measuring 6 inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, has incised upon the upper surface a figure of a Harpoon upon the top of a pole (fig. 1); this is certainly the Harpoon cult-object so often figured above the boats drawn on the vases of Prehistoric Decorated Pottery. This palette may be compared with one found by MacIver at El Amrah (*El Amrah*, pl. VIII, p. 38), which has sculptured on it in low relief the 'Thunderbolt' of Min.

The second palette, in the form of a fish (fig. 2), measuring $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, is of greater interest, for, as far as I am aware, it is the first example that has been recorded which is decorated with an incised scene. The animals depicted are three gazelles, a leopard, a dog (?), and two birds. The drawing is rough and the lines are only very lightly incised. It is evidently of much earlier date than the palettes with hunting scenes in low relief which have been figured by Legge in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XXII, pp. 125-139,270-271.

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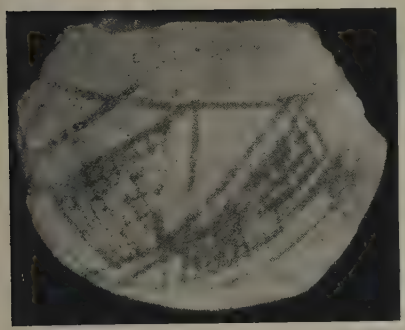


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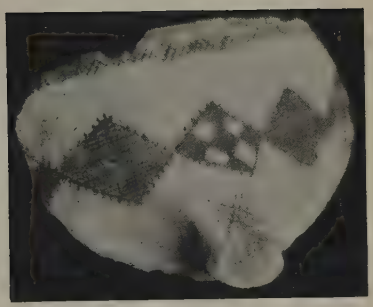


FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

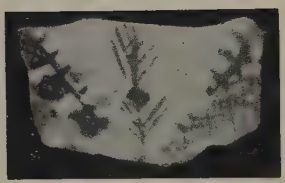


FIG 4.

EXAMPLES OF PREHISTORIC PAINTED POTTERY FROM MALTA.

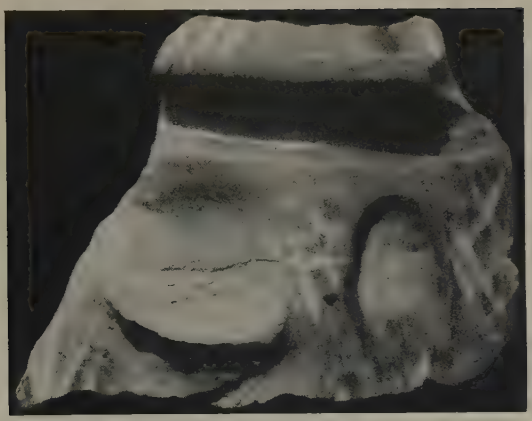


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

EXAMPLES OF PREHISTORIC PAINTED POTTERY FROM MALTA.



A NEW HITTITE MONUMENT FROM NEAR MARASH, ASIA MINOR.

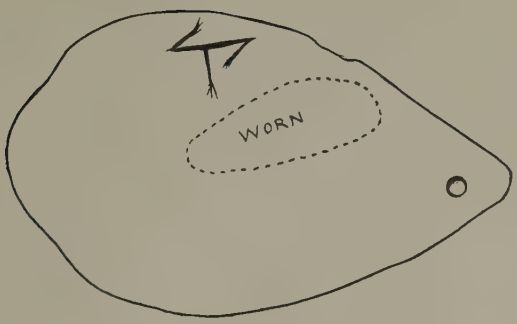


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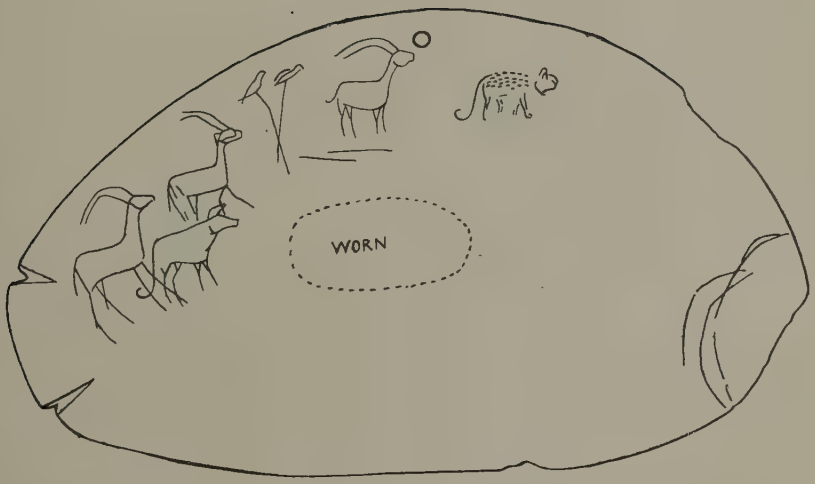
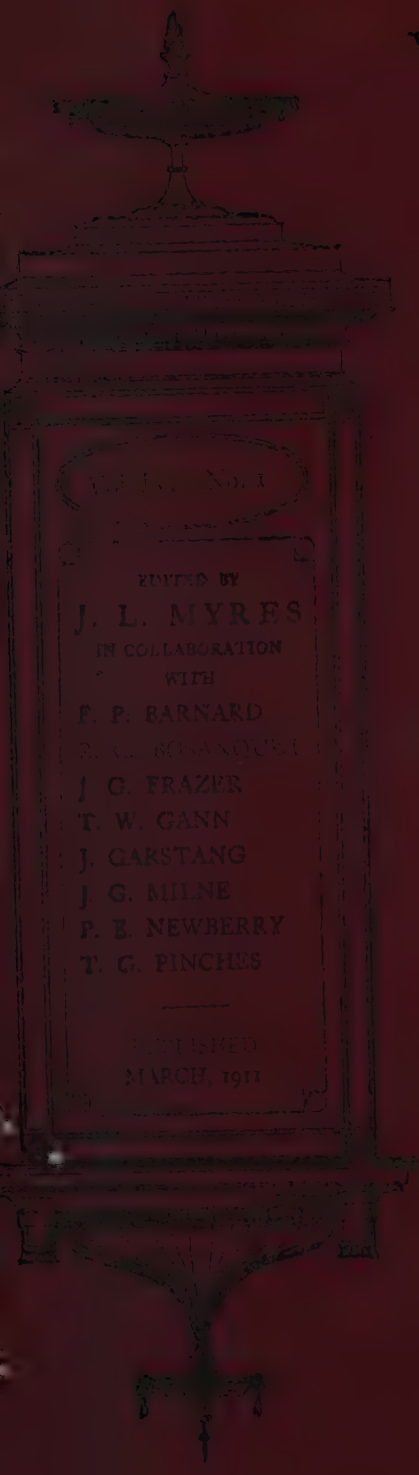


Fig. 2.

TWO PREHISTORIC SLATE PALETTES.



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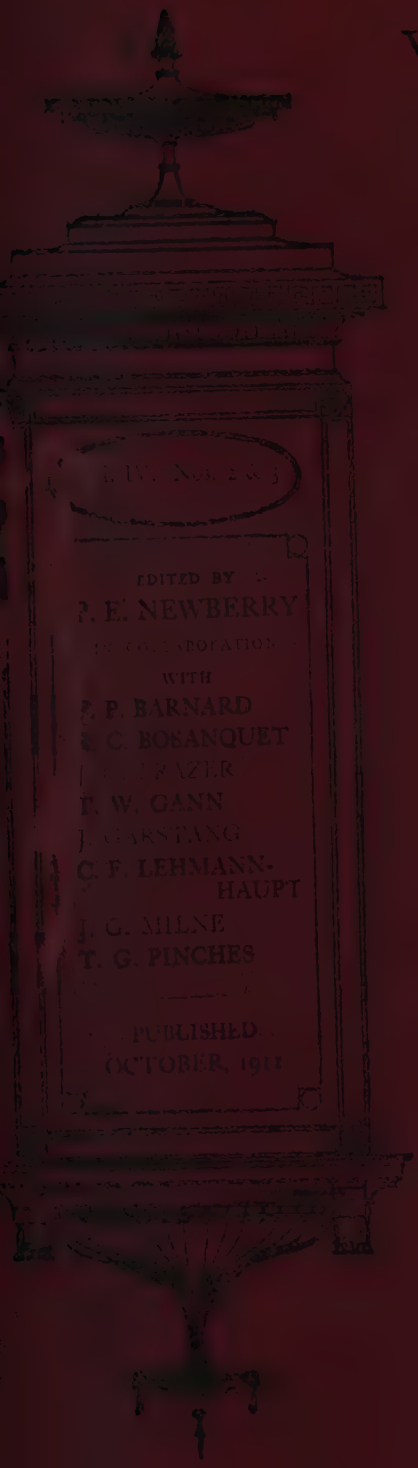
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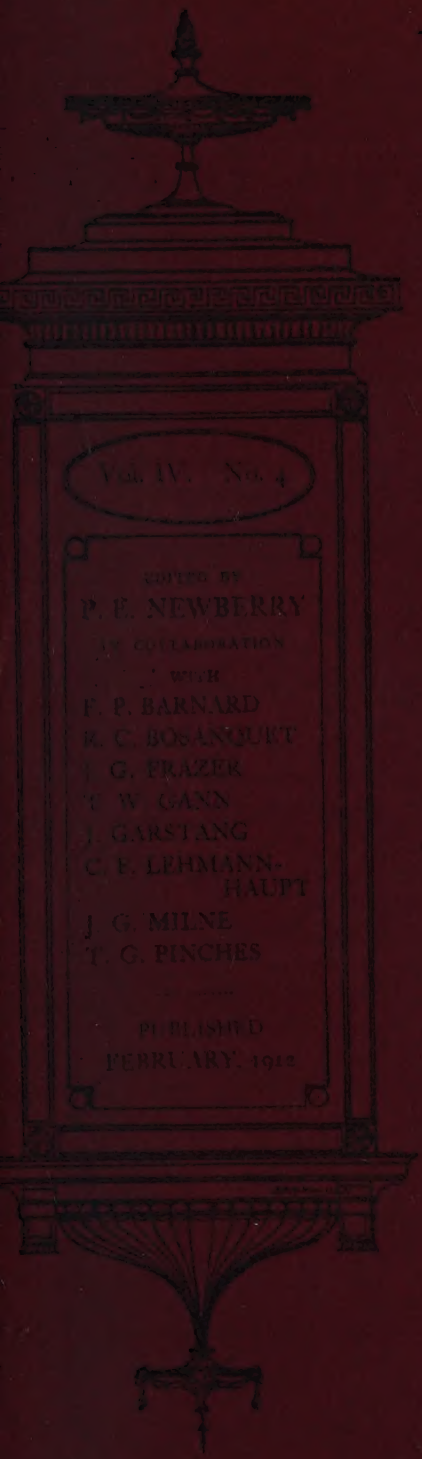
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